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INDEX TO VOL. VI

THE POONA ORIENTALIST

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INDEX OF CONTENTS

*Roman figures refer to the issues of Vol. VI and
Arabic figures to the pages in them*

1.	Ahilyā Kāmadhenu of Keśavadāsa by N. V. Athalye I & II	29 ff.
2.	Author of Kalyāṇa Purañjana Nāṭikā by Madhao Krishna Sharma III & IV	188 ff.
3.	Bibliography by R. N. Sardesai I & II III & IV	117 ff. 245 ff.
4.	The Carwar factory of Shivaji by B. G. Tamaskar III & IV	217 ff.
5.	Date of Dhaneśvara's Commentary on Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka A. D. 1309 (Śaka 1231) and Aufrecht's mistaken identity of this author of a com- mentary on the Anargharāghava by P. K. Gode I & II	102 ff.
6.	The Eclipse code of the Ṛgvedic Aryans as revealed in Śunaḥśepa hymns and Brāhmaṇas by M. Raja Rao I & II	1 ff.
7.	A few works entitled Tarkabhāṣā by E. P. Radhakrishna III & IV	181 ff.
8.	The Historical background of the Cimani- carita by P. K. Gode III & IV	149 ff.
9.	Hindu Pluralism by V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar III & IV	195 ff.
10.	Indian Charity by Ram Keshao Ranade I & II	37 ff.
11.	Importance of accent in the Vedas by S. R. Sehgal I & II	93 ff.

12.	Kātyāyana by K. M. Madhava Krishna Sharma ...	I & II	73 ff.
13.	A Note—a wonderful and newly discovered fact-exact situation of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā and Reviews by Editor	I & II	102 ff.
14.	Nyāyasūtras of Gautama with Bhāṣya (Text) by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha	I & II III & IV	305 ff. 337 ff.
15.	Nyāyasūtras of Gautama with Bhāṣya (English translation) by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha	I & II III & IV	321 ff; 353 ff.
16.	On the present needs of Indian Linguistics by S. M. Katre	III & IV	125 ff.
17.	On the Origin of Upaniṣadic thought by H. G. Narahari	III & IV	139 ff.
18.	The Pañcapādikā literature by E. P. Radhakrishna	I & II	57 ff.
19.	Relation of the Epics to the Brāhmaṇa literature with regard to History, Religion and Society by V. V. Dixit...	I & II (leaflet attached) III & IV	1 ff. 17 ff.
20.	R̥julaghvī by N. A. Gore	III & IV	235 ff.
21.	Similar social and legal institutions in ancient India and ancient Mexico by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach	I & II	43 ff.
22.	Subjects of law and law of family according to the Yājñavalkya Dharma Śāstra— by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach	III & IV	159 ff.
23.	Tithiviveka of Śulapāṇi by S. C. Banerji	III & IV	230 ff.
24.	The word Sarasvatī in Sanskrit literature by M. P. L. Sastry	III & IV	190 ff.
25.	The Yugas by D. R. Mankad	III & IV	206 ff.

GENERAL INDEX

A

- ff. Ahalyabai Holkar, the famous ruler of Indore, I and II. 29.
- ff. Ahalya-Kāmadhenu of Keśavadāsa, I. and II. 29 ff.
- ff. Do. Certain acts prohibited according to—I and II. 3⁴.
- ff. Do. Description, utility and contents of—I and II. 29.
- ff. Do. Definition of Saṁskāra, I and II. 35.
- ff. Do. Double motive of the author in choosing the title, I and II. 30.
- ff. Do. References to the Ms. of—by Aufretch and Kane, I and II. 30.
- ff. Do. Date of the scribe as given in Ms. I and II. 30.
- ff. Do. List of authorities cited in the ms., on the basis of which the work is framed, I and II. 35 f.
- ff. Do. Probable date of, I. and II. 33.
- ff. Do. Reasons given by the author for composing the work, I and II. 32. f.
- d) ff. Allāh Vardikhān — chronology of life of—as recorded by Mr. Moncer, III. and IV. 149 f.
- ff. Do. Turkaman—Persian inscriptions of, III and IV. 194 ff.
- ff. America—Generally accepted theory that the man reached—by Behring Straits and Aleutian islands, I and II. 34 f.
- ff. Do. Some theories about the presence of man in—before Columbus, I and II. 43.
- ff. Do. Many authors have tried to prove that first settler to—came from India, I and II. 44.
- ff. Ancient India and Mexico—the ancient Mexican marriage was also exogamic marriage, I and II. 47 ff.

- Ancient India and Mexico—Examples of law of marriage showing similarity in social institutions in—I and II. 45 ff.
- Do. Forms of marriage in—had probably same development, I and II. 51. f.
- Do. Problem of duration of marriage and dissolution of marriage in—52 ff.
- Do. Similar institutions in criminal law in—I and II. 55 f.
- Do. similarity about the manner of choosing wife, I and II. 51.
- Do. Similarity about the age of marriage of boys and girls, I and II. 50 f.
- Do. Some examples for legal and social institutions identical or similar, I and II. 45 ff.
- Do. Some other instances regarding social and legal institutions in, I and II. 56.
- Do. Similar social and legal institutions in, I and II. 43 ff.
- Aśvamedha sacrifice symbolises the attempt of Vedic Ṛsis to evolve an accurate luni-solar calendar, I and II. 14.
- Athalye N. V. I and II. 29.
- Aufretch—catalogus catalogorum I and II. 30.

B

- Bajirao I. Peshwa, I and II. 33.
- Banerjee Suresh Chandra III and IV. 230.
- Barnett, Dr. L. D. I and II. 3.
- Bibliography—I and II. 117 ff.; III and IV. 244 ff.

C

- Cimani-carita—Allāh-Vardi Khān of—identical with Allāh Vardi Khān of the inscriptions dated 1636, III and IV. 151.

Cimani-carita—Biographies of Allāh Vardi Khān as given by Beak, III and IV. 156 f.

Do. Chronology pertaining to the author of the poem and the historical persons connected with, III and IV. 156 f.

Do. Contents of the poem called, III and IV. 151 ff.

Do. Historical background of, III and IV. 149 ff.

Do. Historical background with persons concerned in, III. and IV. 154 f.

Do. Interesting information about the household affairs of Allāh Vardi Khān, III and IV. 149 ff.

Do. Mss. of the poem, III and IV. 155.

Do. Nilakaṇṭha Śukla, author of— identical with Nilakaṇṭha Śukla, pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, III and IV. 150 f.

Carwar factory and Shivaji, III and IV. 217 ff.

D

Date of Dhaneśvara's commentary on Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka and Aufretch's mistaken identity of this author with his namesake, the author of the commentary on the Anargharāghava, I and II. 102 f.

Dhaneśvara's commentary on Caṇḍīśataka—Date of Dhaneśvara from his reference to Yādava-prakāśa and from his own account in Ms. on page 56 (a), I and II. 103 f.

Do. Description of the Ms. in B. O. R. I., I and II. 102.

Do. History of the family etc. of Dhaneśvara, I and II. 104.

Do. Ms. of Anargharāghava showing the history of the author of Com., I and II. 105.

Dhaneśvara's commentary on Caṇḍīśataka—References made in Anargharāghavaṭīkā, I and II. 107.

Dhaneśvara's Commentary on Caṇḍīśataka—References made in, I and II. 102.

Do. Whether this Dhaneśvara and Dhaneśvara of Anargharāghava identical, I and II. 105 ff.

Dixit V. V., I and II. 1. (special leaflet attached).

E

Eclipse-code of the R̥gvedic Aryans as revealed in the Śunaḥśepa hymns and the Brāhmaṇas, I and II. 1 ff.

Do. The eclipse series of R̥gvedic hymns table V, I and II. 21.

Do. 58 year (Aditi) cycle of eclipses Table IV, I and II. 19 f.

Do. Key to the eclipse Tables, I and II. 21.

Do. Vedāṅga Jyotish Table No. I and II. showing cycle of eclipses, I and II. 18.

Do. Table No. III., I and II. 19.

Eclipse-code of R̥gvedic Aryans—The eclipse series of R̥gvedic hymns Table No. VI,—I and II. 22.

Do. Table No. VII, I and II. 23.

Do. " " VIII,—I and II. 23.

Do. " " IX,—I and II. 24.

Do. " " X,—I and II. 24.

Do. " " XI,—I and II. 25.

Do. " " XII,—I and II. 26.

Do. " " XIII,—I and II. 26.

Do. " " XIV,—I and II. 27.

Do. " " XV,—I and II. 27.

Do. " " XVI,—I and II. 28.

Elizabeth-Statute of — Charitable objects enumerated in,—I and II. 37.

Epics-relation of—to Brāhmaṇa literature—Administration of justice and the penal code, I and II. 13 f. (leaflet attached).

- Epics-relation of—to Brāhmaṇa literature—The cabinate or the executive council, I and II. 10 f. (leaflet attached).
- Do. The centre of R̥gvedic culture was between Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, I and II. 4 f. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Cosmology, III and IV. 17 f.
- Do. Date of Rāma 400 years after period of older Upaniṣads, I and II. 4. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Defence I and II. 15 f. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Different views about the genuineness of the heroes and the history of Epics I and II. 2 ff. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Executive Council of Dharma consisted of 8 members, I and II. 11. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Family and property, III and IV. 30 f.
- Do. Few states conducted on republican basis, I and II. 9 f. (leaflet attached).
- Do. General remarks about kingship etc., III and IV. 17. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Government of India at the time of Epics, I and II. 8 ff. (leaflet attached).
- Do. History of Pāñcālas, I and II. 6. (leaflet attached).
- Do. History of Bhāratas, I and II. 5. (leaflet attached).
- Do. History of Kurus, I and II. 5 f. (leaflet attached).
- Do. History of other tribes than Kurus etc., I and II. 6 ff. (leaflet attached).
- Do. An ideal king and State, I and II. 12 f. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Interpretation of Epic period, I and II. 1 f. (leaflet attached).
- Do. The Legislative Council, I and II. 11 f. (leaflet attached).
- Epics-relation of to Brāhmaṇa literature—Life after death, III and IV. 25 f.
- Do. Kings and his qualifications, I. and II. 10. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Pāṇḍavas are not mentioned in the sacred books, I and II. 3 f. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Period of Brāhmaṇas, I and II. 1 f. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Popular sacrifices, III and IV. 20 ff.
- Do. Professions and occupations, III and IV. 31 f.
- Do. Rāmāyaṇa not purely a work of history or mythology, I and II. 4. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Rāmāyaṇa gives 8 officers in kingdom, I and II. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Religion, III and IV. 17 ff.
- Do. Religion and earthly life, III and IV. 26.
- Do. Religion and State, III and IV. 26.
- Do. Sacrifice, III and IV. 18 ff.
- Do. sources of income, I and II. 16. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Sociology—caste system III and IV. 27 ff.
- Do. The two wars and the heroes, I and II. 2 ff (leaflet attached).
- Do. Units of administration, I and II. 12. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Wave of revolution in social and religious field affected Vedic religion in 6th century B. C., I and II. 2. (leaflet attached).
- Do. Yādavas had republican Government, I and II. 10. (leaflet attached).

F

- (A) Few works entitled Tarkabhāṣā, III and IV. 181 ff.

G

- Grant M. R.—Meaning of charity given by—in Norice Vs. Bishop of Durham, I and II. 37.
 Gode P. K., I and II. 102., III and IV. 149.
 Gore N. A. III. and IV. 236.

H

- Hindu Pluralism, III and IV. 195 ff.
 Do. Account, growth and functions of group Kulas, III and IV. 196 f.
 Do. Account, growth and functions of group or organisation Jāti, III and IV. 197 f.
 Do. Account, growth and functions of Śreni-organisations, III and IV. 198 f.
 Do. Account, growth of Jānapadas, III and IV. 201.
 Do. Account, growth and functions of Gaṇa group, III and IV. 202.
 Do. Account, growth and Functions of tribal assemblies, III and IV. 202 f.
 Do. Demarcation of State and society by ancient Indian polity; such demarcation not known to Greeks and Romans, III and IV. 195.
 Do. Elective character of kingship can be seen from Ṛgveda and Atharva Veda, III and IV. 204.
 Do. Group life how developed, III and IV. 196.
 Do. Groups mentioned in ancient Indian literature e.g., Kulas, Jātis, Śrenis, Gaṇas, Jānapadas, III and IV. 196 ff.
 Do. gradual growth of state and its functions, III and IV. 195 f.
 Do. How sovereignty was exercised by State, III and IV. 205.
 Do. How groups assumed regidity, III and IV. 199 f.

- Hindu Pluralism—Law was above King, State and Society attached sacredness to law, III and IV. 204.
 Do. Merits of pluralism, III. and IV. 195.
 Do. Occupations were allowed to be changed in cases of extreme necessity, III and IV. 200.
 Do. Pañcama or fifth caste, III and IV. 199.
 Do. Position of Harijanas i.e. untouchables in ancient India, III and IV. 199 f.
 Do. Plurastic state—according to Kung Chauvan Hsiao, III and IV. 195.
 Do. State-nature of the sovereignty of, III and IV. 203.
 Do. Village—administration of— III and IV. 201.
 Do. Village was unit of Hindu administration system, III and IV. 201.
 Do. Why no civil wars like Patri-cian and Plebian struggles, III and IV. 200.
 Do. Why health of the State was preserved intact, III and IV. 203.
 Do. Yuvarāja-practice of setting up; and its utility, III and IV. 205.
 Historical background of the Cimanī-carita, III and IV. 149 ff.

I

- Importance of accent in the Vedas, I and II. 93 ff.
 Indian charity, I and II. 37 ff.
 Do. Construction of Temples for Gods etc., I and II. 39.
 Do. Construction of wells, tanks etc., I and II. 39 f.
 Do. Criticism of foreigners and some educated Indians, I and II. 37.
 Do. Gift of food, I and II. 40.

Importance of accent in the Vedas—
Gift of promoting knowledge,
I and II. 40 f.

Do. Importance of charity in
R̥gveda, I and II. 37.

Do. Importance of charity in
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, I and II. 38.

Indian charity—importance of
charity in Bṛihaspati, I and II. 38.

Do. Importance of charity in
Manu, I and II. 38.

Do. Importance of charity in
Gautama, I and II. 38.

Do. Importance of charity in
Yama, I and II. 38

Do. Is by for superior to that form
of charity which is evolved from
the statute of Elizabeth, I and
II. 42.

Do. Means charity as we find in
ancient work, I and II. 37.

Do. Meaning of charity given by
Grant, M. R. I and II. 37.

Do. Planting of trees, I and II.
41 f.

Do. Relief of the sick, I and II. 40,

Do. Some charitable objects enu-
merated in Elizabeth statute.
I and II. 37.

Do. Various forms of, I and II.
38 f.

J

Jacobi, Dr. I and II. 4.

K

Kalyāṇa Puraṇjana Nāṭaka—author
of, III and IV. 188 f.

Kane P. V. I and II. 30.

Katre S. M. III and IV. 125.

Kātyāyana, I and II. 74. ff.

Do. About the elision of the final
's' where the noun ends in 's',
I and II. 76 f.

Do. Aluka samāśas given by, I and
II. 84 f.

Do. Compound 'Daśagava' (Dvigu)
at the time of—and pre-Pāṇinian
time, I and II. 76.

Kātyāyana—Denominative of 'Tapas'
namely 'Tapasyati' takes only
Ātmanepadi termination, I and
II. 77.

Do. Difference of opinion about
the addition of affix 'kha' to the
compound Avārapāra between
Pāṇini and—I and II. 81.

Do. Difference between Pāṇini and
—about Śaya, I and II. 79.

Do. Examples of some new types
of Compounds in 1st and 2nd
Pādas of 2nd chapter, I and II. 75.

Do. Explains Turya possibly not
known to Pāṇini, I and II. 82 f.

Do. Explanation and addition to
the list of Compounds as Pṛṣo-
dara guḍdhotmā etc, I and II.
85 ff.

Do. A good number of Taddhita
words explained by—I and II. 81f.

Do. New class of Causatives in the
sense 'to do', I and II. 77 f.

Do. New class of Denominatives is
formed by the locatives, I and
II. 76.

Do. Object of—to write Vārtikas
on Aṣṭādhyāyī, I and II. 90.

Do. Paper to examine certain
Vārtikas with a view to clarify
position of Vārtikakāra with
Pāṇini, I and II. 74 ff.

Do. Roots 'dīdhi' and 'vevi' at
the time of, I and II. 74.

Do. Rule about Taddhita affix in
Uḍulomi, I and II. 81.

Do. Sanskrit must be a spoken
language at the time of—and
Pāṇini, it is for this reason that
such a large number of words not
explained by Pāṇini, I and II. 90f.

Do. The sphere of periphrastic
'ām' at the time of—I and II. 78 f.

Do. Some types of Prayogas in
which respective Vibhaktis are
not accounted for by Pāṇini but
by,—I and II. 75 f.

- Kātyāyana—Some words like soḍha, dūṣa, marīṣaca and peja owe their origin from Prākṛt, I and II. 81.
- Do. Some new affixes introduced by, I and II. 83.
- Do. Some nouns given in Vārtika as affixes, I and II. 87.
- Do. Some examples of words found in Vedic literature—I and II. 88.
- Do. Two new types of Ekaśeṣa in, I and II. 74.
- Do. The use of affix 'Yañ' at the time of—and before his time,—I and II. 77.
- Do. Vārtikakāra extends Gatī-samjñā to Kārikā, I and II. 74.
- Do. Vārtika about reduplication of 'Irṣyati', I and II. 83.
- Do. Vārtika about Kaṇḍuyiyiṣati etc., I and II. 83 f.
- Do. Vārtika about the reduplication of 3rd syllable in the case of denominatives, I and II. 84.
- Do. Vārtikas about insertion of 'M', I and II. 85.
- Do. Whether Sanskrit preserved its accent till Kumārila's time, I and II. 91 f.
- Do. Words found in Vedic literature and not explained by Pāṇini but by—I and II. 79 f.
- Do. Words like cakra, ciklida etc. explained by Vārtika, I and II. 84.
- Do. Difference between—and Pāṇini about the substitute 'Ghas' for root 'Ad', I and II. 76.
- Do. And Pāṇini—some difference, between I and II. 89 f.
- Kautilya's Arthaśāstra—King's happiness lies in happiness of people and welfare lies in their welfare, III and IV. 204.
- Kaye, Dr. I and II. 11.
- Keith, Dr. A. B., I and II. 15 f.
- Keśavamīśra, author of Tarkabhāṣā—account of, III and IV. 181 f.
- L
- Laṅkā—exact situation of Rāvaṇa's I and II. 109 ff.
- Laṅkā-situation of—identification of Mahendravarā, I and II. 111 f.
- Do. Identification of Sugrīva cave and other spots on the way, I and II. 111.
- Do. Presence of Temple of Jagannātha mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa even now on the Bharner slope of the Katangi Village, I and II. 110 f.
- Do. Other places—brief history of—as observed by Dr. N. G. Sardesai, I and II. 110.
- Do. Other places mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa and located by Mr. Justice Paramashiva Iyer—identified by Dr. N. G. Sardesai, I and II. 109 f.
- Do. Other places like Janasthāna—Situation of—according to Mr. J. Paramashiva Iyer, I and II. 109.
- Do. According to Sardar Kibe and Rai Bahadur Hiralal and Dr. Bhandarkar, I and II. 109.
- Do. Narbada and Garha (Jubbulpore), I and II. 43.
- Linguistics—Indian—all research societies and colleges and universities to cooperate in establishing the aspect of socio linguistic geography and dialect atlas, III and IV. 133.
- Do. Appreciation of Grierson's major work on linguistics, III and IV. 128.
- Do. Beginning of,—III and IV. 125 f.
- Do. Causes why the study is neglected, III and IV. 128.
- Do. First and foremost need of—discussed, III and IV. 129 f.

Linguistics-Indian—History of linguistics society of India established in Lahore and its publications, III and IV. 127.

Do. How the work of research is to be begun and how to find out sources for expenditure etc., III and IV. 133 f.

Do. Instructions about dialectal studies, III and IV. 135.

Do. List of certain great classics, III and IV. 126.

Do. Need of some such like Linguistic Society of India and duties and functions of such society, III and IV. 129 f.

Do. Need for proper study of *nomia propria*, III and IV. 135 f.

Do. On the present needs of, III and IV. 125 ff.

Do. Some works on the linguistics contributed by Jules Bloch and Sunitikumar Chatterji, III and IV. 128 f.

Do. Two factors always to be kept before the organising of any research, III and IV. 131.

Do. Two crying needs of linguistics within India, III and IV. 131 f.

Ludwic Sternbach, Dr. I and II. 43; III and IV. 159.

M

Madhava Krishna Sharma K., I and II. 74; III and IV. 188.

Malhararao Holkar, I and II. 33.

Mankad D. R., III and IV. 206.

Moneer Q. M., III and IV. 149.

N

Narhari H. G., III and IV. 139.

Nyāyasūtras of Gautama with Bhāṣya (Text), I and II. 305 ff; III and IV. 337 ff.

Do. English translation, I and II. 321 ff; III and IV. 353 ff.

O

On the present needs of Indian Linguistics, III and IV. 125 ff.

P

Pañcapādikā literature, I and II. 57 ff.

Do. Date of Nṛsimhaśarmā' author of Pañcapādikā, I and II. 63.

Do. Date of Ānandapūrṇa Yati, author of Pañcapādikā Tīkā, I and II. 61.

Do. Earliest Commentary written on Śaṅkarabhāṣya, I and II. 58.

Do. Important factor which distinguishes three schools of thought, I and II. 58 f.

Do. Importance of Pañcapādikā Vyākhyā, I and II. 60.

Do. Meaning of Prasthanatraya, I and II. 57.

Do. Some account of Advaitabhūṣaṇa by Bodhanendra—work of Vivaraṇa School of Advaitic thinking, I and II. 73.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa Vyākhyā by Śrīkṛṣṇa, I and II. 71 f.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vyākhyā Vaktavyakāśikā by Uttamañña Yati, I and II. 62.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vyākhyā Padyayojanā, I and II. 62.

Do. Some account of the Pañcapādikā Tīkā by Nṛsimhaśarmā, I and II. 62 f.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vyākhyā by Vijñānavāsa Yati, I and II. 63 f.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa Vyākhyā—Tīkāratna by Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara—Commentary on Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa, I and II. 68 f.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa Vyākhyā by Citsukha Muni, I and II. 70.

Pañcapādikā literature—Some account of Pañcapādikā Vyākhyā Proboḍhapaṛiśobhīni by Ātmasvarūpa, I and II. 59 f.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Tīkā by Ānandāpūrṇa Yati, I and II. 60 f.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vyākhyā Tātparyadyotīnī by Vijñānātman, I and II. 65.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa by Prakāśātman, I and II. 65 ff.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa Prakāśikā by Nṛsimhaśarmā, I and II. 70.

Do. Some account of Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇojjivīnī by Vijñāneśvara Dīkṣita, I and II. 71.

Do. Some account of Rjvivaraṇa of Sarvajñā, Commentary on Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa, I and II. 68

Do. Some account of Tattvadīpana of Akhaṇḍānanda, Commentary on Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa, I and II. 67.

Do. Some account of vivaraṇa Darpaṇa, Commentary on Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa, I and II. 67 f.

Do. Some account of Vivaraṇa Vyākhyā by Vijñānātman Bhagavān, I and II. 71.

Do. Some account of Vivaraṇa-prameyasaṅgraha, a leading work of the Vivaraṇa school of Advaitic thinking, I and II. 72 f.

Do. Some account of Vivaraṇa-panyāsa of Rāmacandra—work of Vivaraṇa school of Advaitic thinking I and II. 73.

Do. Vivaraṇa, the most exhaustive and brilliant commentary on Pañcapādikā, I and II. 59.

Pathak, I and II. 91.

Pillay, Dr. L. D. Swamikannu, I II. 6; 9; 15.

R

Radhakrishnan E. P., I and II. 57; III and IV. 181.

Raghavan, Dr. V., I and II. 61.

Rajaram M., I and II. 1.

Ramachandra Dikshitar V. R., III and IV. 195.

Ranade Ram Keshao, I and II. 37.

Relation of the Epics to the Brāhmaṇa literature with regard to the history, religion and sociology, I and II. 1 ff.

(leaflet attached)

Reviews, I and II. 114 f.

Rjlaghvi—Description of the Ms. of,—III and IV. 236.

Do. Mālatī Mādhava Kathā (Text), III and IV. 237 ff.

S

Sardesai Dr., R. N., I and II. 117; III and IV. 245.

Sarasvatī word in Sanskrit literature, III and IV. 190 ff.

Do. Different meanings attributed to Sarasvatī by different Vedas, III and IV. 191 f.

Do. Idea that Sarasvatī is wife of Brahman did not exist in Vedic literature nor in early classical literature, III and IV. 192 ff.

Do. Meaning of Sarasvatī in classical literature, III and IV. 191 f.

Do. Meanings of,—III and IV. 190.

Do. Sarasvatī used in Vedic literature to denote frontier river, III and IV. 190 f.

Sastry M. P. C., III and IV. 190.

Sehgal S. R., I and II. 93.

Shamashastry, Dr. R., I and II. 3 f; 9; 14 f; 17.

Shāhu Chatrapatī, I and II. 33 f.

Shivaji and Carwar factory, III and IV. 217 ff.

- Shivaji and Carwar factory—Explanation as to why Shivaji plundered Carwar, III and IV. 220.
- Do. Carwar factory free from Shivaji's troubles, III and IV. 226.
- Do. The date of the treaty between Shivaji and Aurangzeb, III and IV. 222 ff.
- Do. Carwar subject to local disturbances, III and IV. 227 ff.
- Do. Shivaji's principle that town of ally not to be plundered—Plunder of Rajapore restored, III and IV. 219.
- Do. Letter from Aurangzeb to Shivaji Feb. 24, 1668, III and IV. 223.
- Do. Reestablishment of the Carwar factory of the English, III and IV. 224 ff.
- Do. Reason of the withdrawal of the English factory, III and IV. 220 f.
- Do. Shivaji busy in training set of wise regulations between 1667 to 1669, III and IV. 223.
- Simon, Dr., Compiler of Index Verborum, I and II. 94 ff.
- Subjects of law and law of family according to the Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra, III and IV. 159 ff.
- Sunahśepa—Brief outline of the story of, I and II. 2 f.
- Sunahśepa hymns and Brāhmaṇas—The eclipse code of the R̥gvedic Aryans as revealed in, I and II. 1 ff.
- Do. Basis for inference that fundamental cycle of eclipses is one of 2780 days or eight nodal years, I and II. 13.
- Do. Each mantra Contains two references one—to God and one to Nakṣatra in which eclipse represented by the mantra should have occurred, I and II. 11.
- Sunahśepa hymns and Brāhmaṇas—Each—represents an eclipseseries, I and II. 16.
- Sunahśepa legend—Interpretion of the story of Aditi and her eight sons, I and II. 17.
- Do. is a metaphorical representation of an astronomical myth and an important law of eclipses, I and II. 14.
- Do. The number of possible eclipses in the grand cycle of 58 years, I and II. 16 f.
- Do. Vedic Aryans had discovered the 58 years cycle and in their usual way incorporated it in the legend of Aditi and her sons, I and II. 17 f.
- Do. Several values deduced from independant sets of data agree closely that basic period of the R̥gvedic eclipse cycle was 188 parvas, I and II. 14.
- Sunahśepa story—Criteria on which identification of the R̥gvedic eclipse Nakṣatras has been based, I and II. 12 f.
- Do. Devices adopted by Vedic Ṛṣis to indicate eclipse Nakṣatras, I and II. 10 f.
- Do. Each episode in—yields an eclipse series, I and II. 16.
- Do. An important event in the programme of the Rājasūya Sacrifice, I and II. 1.
- Do. Laws governing the recurrences of eclipses deduced from table of eclipses No. IV in the Indian Ephemeris Compiled by Dr. Pillay, I and II. 6 ff.
- Do. Principles adopted in the preparation of the tables of eclipses, I and II. 9 f.
- Do. Taittiriya Āraṇyaka version of Adits and her sons, I and II. 17 ff.

- Śunaḥśepa story**—Several interpretations of—by scholars, I and II. 1.
Do. System of notation employed by Vedic Ṛsis for recording the time of occurrence of the eclipses observed by them, I and II. 8 f.
Do. Three episodes have been woven into a legend, I and II. 1 f.

T

- Tamaskar B. G.**, III and IV. 217.
Tarkabhāṣā—few works entitled,—III and IV. 181 ff.
Do. Interpretation of title Tarkabhāṣa, III and IV. 181.
Do. By Jñānaśrī, III and IV. 185 ff.
Do. Of Mokṣākaragupta—some account of, III and IV. 183 ff.
Do. Of Yośovijoyagaṇi—some account of, III and IV. 182.
Do. Some account of Tarkabhāṣā of Keśavamīśra, III and IV. 181 f.
Tilaka—Lokamanya, I and II. 4.
Tithiviveka of Śulapāṇi, III and IV. 230 ff.
Do. Descriptions of two Mss. in Dacca University, III and IV. 231 f.
Do. Object of the work and how author decides different controversial points, III and IV. 231.
Do. The present text how prepared, III and IV. 230.
Do. Relation of—with Tithitattva of Raghunātha, III and IV. 231.
Do. Text. III and IV. 232 ff.
Do. Śulapāṇi's place in literature and date, III and IV. 230.

U

- Upaniṣadic thought**—on the origin of, III and IV. 139 f.
Do. Meaning of the word Upaniṣad, III and IV. 139 f.
Do. Indian tradition about Upaniṣads as part of Vedic literature. III and IV. 140 f.

- Upaniṣadic thought**—on the origin of—Meaning of the word Upaniṣad 140.

- by European scholars, III and IV.
Do. Objections to the theory propounded by Garbe and others viz. Upaniṣadic thought incompatible with the spirit of Brahmins, III and IV. 142 ff.

- Do.** Textual evidence about the Theory that Upaniṣadic thought in compatible with the spirit of Brahmins discussed and explained away, III and IV. 144 ff.
Do. Upaniṣadic thought incompatible with the spirit of Brahmins who live by sacrifices—theory chiefly advocated by Garbe and Hertel, III and IV. 141 f.

V

- Vedas**—importance of accent in the—I and II. 93 ff.
Do. Accent originally was employed for economy, I and II. 97.
Do. Accentual treatment has gone into disuse at the time of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, I and II. 100 f.
Do. Example of Arvāk to explain, I and II. 96.
Do. Examples in Kāthaka Saṁhitā to show, I and II. 94 f.
Do. Gave rise to separate branch of learning known as śikṣā Prātiśākhya, I and II. 98.
Do. The importance of the word lies on its accented syllable, I and II. 93,
Do. Is responsible to the purity and authenticity of Ṛg-Veda Saṁhitā, I and II. 94.
Do. List of works wholly accented and partly accented, I and II. 97.
Do. Mammaṭa's comment about accent, I and II. 93 f.
Do. Sāyaṇas exhaustive treatment of accent in the 1st Maṇḍala, I and II. 98 f.

Vedas—importance of accent in the
—Some examples to elucidate—
I and II. 94 ff.

Do. Some commentaries on Vedic
texts record stray cases of accentu-
al system, I and II. 98 f.

Do. Some mistakes committed by
Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Sāyaṇa in
explaining accent, I and II. 99 ff.

Do. Truth about accent given by
Mādhava Bhaṭṭa in *R̥gvedānukra-*
maṇī. I and II. 93.

Do. Words *idam*, *madhuram* ex-
plained for, I and II. 95 f.

Vedic Aryans—had acquired ac-
curate ideas of astromomial phe-
nomena, I and II. 4.

Do. Were aware of the facts that
eclipses recur at regular intervals
and recorded the results of their
observations in a Conventional
code, I and II. 4 f.

Vedic Mantras—key to decipher
some—whose application is many-
sided, I and II. 5.

W

Word *Sarasvatī* in Sanskrit literature
III and IV. 190 ff.

Y

Yājñavalkya *Dharmaśāstra*—Betro-
thal, its nature and when it
could be broken and punishment
for breaking etc., III and IV.
168 f.

Do. Debts, III and IV. 180.

Do. Definition of law and law
sources, III and IV. 161 f.

Do. Dependence of the fortune
of sons, III and IV. 156 f.

Do. Four kinds of sons under the
power of father, III and IV. 164 f.

Do. Husband and wife—relations
between—and their duties towards
each other, III and IV. 178 f.

Do. Husband and wife—personal
pension etc., III and IV. 179 f.

Yājñavalkya *Dharmaśāstra*—Institu-
tion of polygamy known to, III
and IV. 165.

Do. Juristic persons of public and
civil law, III and IV. 163.

Do. Its nature, date etc., III. 159.

Do. *Kāñīna*—children born by an
unmarried girl—outside the scope
of the father, the head of the
family, III and IV. 164.

Do. Legislative authority according
to, III to IV. 162.

Do. Marriage,—forms and object
of,—III and IV. 168.

Do. Marriage—form of,—III and
IV. 172 ff.

Do. Marriage—dissolution of — its
consequences, III and IV. 176 ff.

Do. *Matrimoni*—impedimentia,
III and IV. 169 ff.

Do. Nature of family power, III
and IV. 163.

Do. Persons could come under the
control of another persons, III
and IV. 168.

Do. Polyandry not referred to by,
III and IV. 165.

Do. Power of father as family
head on his sons, III and IV.
163 ff.

Do. Private fortune of women only
after marriage, III and IV. 167.

Do. Slaves have no rights, III and
IV. 162.

Do. Spontaneous emancipation of
a son when he becomes adult or
when he marries, III and IV. 166.

Do. Twelve kinds of sons subdi-
vided into four groups, III and
IV. 165 f.

Do. *Stridhana*, III and IV. 179 f.

Do. Subjects of law and law of
families according to,—III and
IV. 159 ff.

Do. Two kinds of persons—natural
persons and juristic persons, III
and IV. 162.

Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra—Wedding ceremony, III and IV. 176.

Do. Women—legal—position of—III and IV. 167 f.

Yugas—III and IV. 206 ff.

Do. Certain noteworthy statements about Yuga calculations in some Purāṇas and astronomical work, III and IV. 207 ff.

Do. Methods of Yuga computation, III and IV. 212 ff.

Do. Quotation from Varāhamihira about the years of, III and IV, 210.

Do. Quotation from Brahmagupta given by Alberuni about the years, III and IV. 209.

Do. The sense of the word, III and IV. 210 ff.

Yugas—Some important points about, III and IV. 210.

Do. Some suggestion about the original method of Yuga calculation, III and IV. 214 f.

Do. Years of—according to Romaka Siddhānta, III and IV. 210.

Do. Years of—according to Nirukta, III and IV. 209.

Do. Years of—according to Manu-Smṛti, III and IV. 208 f.

Do. Years of—according to Mahābhārata, III and IV. 208.

Do. Years of—according to Skanda, III and VI. 207 f.

Do. Years of—according to Viṣṇupurāṇa, III and IV. 207.

Do. Years given by Purāṇas to, III and IV. 206.

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THE ECLIPSE-CODE OF THE RIGVEDIC ĀRYANS AS REVEALED IN THE ŚUNAHŚEPA HYMNS AND THE BRĀHMAṆAS

(M. Raja Rao)

1. The recitation of the story of Sunahśepa is an important event in the programme of the Rājasūya Sacrifice. Surrounded by his family and his ministers, the king performing the sacrifice listens to the story as it is narrated by the priest, the Hotṛ. It consists of one hundred verses (Ṛks) and several Gāthas (31* Songs). Seated on a golden cushion, the Hotṛ recites, while his assistant the Adhwaryu, similarly seated, makes the responses (chorus Amen) OM to a Ṛk and " Be it so" to a Gāthā. In the end, the king presents the narrator with a thousand (cows), and his assistant receives a hundred. All those who are desirous of children are required to listen to the story with devotion.

2. The prominence given to the story in the religious programme has roused the curiosity of Vedic scholars as to its real significance. The story is obviously based on the seven hymns of the Rg-veda. (1st Mandala Nos. 24 to 30.) attributed to the Ṛṣi (seer) Sunahśepa. Some scholars regard it as an evidence of the prevalence of the custom of offering human sacrifices on the occasion of the coronation of a king. Others look upon it as registering a profound abhorrence of it. The question has been ably discussed by Dr. A. B. KEITH in his Introduction to the translation of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (pp. 61-67 Vol. 25 Harvard Oriental Series). He has given there a clear analysis of the story and shown how three episodes have been woven into a legend.

3. The episodes are (a) Śunahśepa bound, like Prometheus to a sacrificial pillar, appeals to the several Gods for protection. His prayer is answered and he is liberated ; (b) though by birth he is an Āngiras, and a Brāhmaṇa, he is adopted by Viśvāmित्रा who allowed him to the overlordship of the Jahnus and the Gāthins. (c) Hariśchandra (Vaidhasa Aikswākawa) prays, at the instigation of Nārada, to Varuṇa to grant him a son, whom he vows to sacrifice to the God. When the child, Rohita, is born he is unwilling to sacrifice him, tries to evade the fulfilment of his vow on one pretext after another. The excuses are : (1) Let him grow over ten days old. (2) Let his teeth appear. (3) Let his teeth fall. (4) Let them sprout up again. (5) Let him win his arms. When Rohita has won his arms, Hariśchandra cannot put off the sacrifice any longer. He sends for his son and asks for his compliance. Rohita refuses, takes up his bow and goes away to the wild. He keeps on wandering there for a year. Meanwhile Varuṇa seizes the father whose belly swells up. Rohita hears of his father's plight and directs his steps homeward. Indra meets him on the way in human form and dissuades him from returning home. Rohita turns back into the wild, and wanders for another year. At the end of the second year he tries to return home; but Indra sends him back to the wild. This happens six times. At the end of the seventh year (Sām̐khyāyana Śrauta-sūtra); (6th according to the Aitareya Brāhm.), while wandering in the wild, Rohita meets with Ajīgarta a Ṛṣi and his hunger-stricken family. He bargains with the father and purchases the second of his three sons, to be offered, in his stead, as a sacrifice to Varuṇa. The price to be paid is one hundred cows. Rohita returns to his father with his new purchase, Śunahśepa. Varuṇa agrees to the substitution. And preparations for the sacrifice, Rājasūya, are taken on hand. When the time is reached for binding the victim to the post, there is none willing to undertake that odious task. The father Ajīgarta, who has accompanied his son, offers to bind him if he should be given another hundred cows. The price is paid and the victim is bound to the post ; but there is none again who is prepared to take up a knife and kill the helpless victim. The unnatural father agrees this time even to kill his son

if he should be given a third set of hundred cows. He is paid and like Shylock, he begins to whet his knife. Śunahśepa now realises that his father is in right earnest and that no earthly aid would avail him. So he appeals to the gods one after another. In the end Uṣas liberates him. Varuṇa is appeased. Hariśchandra's stomach resumes its natural size. Śunahśepa is asked to conduct the sacrifice himself; he does so. Viśvāmitra takes a liking to support him in his refusal to go back to his father, and adopts him as a son. Out of the one hundred and one sons of Viśvāmitra, the elder fifty refuse to recognize the adoption. Viśvāmitra disowns and dis-inherits them. The remaining fifty-one, headed by Madhuchchandras, gladly accord their consent and Śunahśepa under his new name, Devarāta, becomes their leader. He succeeds to the overlordship of the Jahnus and the Gāthins.

4. Such in brief outline is the story of Śunahśepa which has been carefully preserved by tradition, and which, like so many other passages in the Vedas, has exercised the minds of Vedic scholars and baffled all attempts to unriddle it. In his preface to the *Paradise Lost*, Milton claimed with pardonable pride that at one time it had seemed to him that the story of King Arthur had long awaited him to be made the theme of an undying epic poem. The story of Śunahśepa is in my opinion an exact parallel to it. The correct interpretation of the story has awaited the magic touch of Dr. R. SHAMASASTRY to unveil itself. The epoch-making discovery that the Eclipse-cult pervades the whole fabric of the Vedas has, like the discovery of America by Columbus, opened up new realms for Vedic exploration. The hope expressed by Dr. L. D. BARNETT in his letter to the learned author of the 'Drapsa' that the work which was characterised by extra-ordinary learning and ingenuity would throw light on some of the obscurities in the Vedic texts has been amply justified and realised to a remarkable extent in the sequel to the 'Drapsa,' the book titled "Eclipse-cult in the Vedas, the Bible and the Koran". Those two books and personal discussions with their learned author have been the sources of my inspiration and the guiding posts in my rambles in the fields of Vedic research. Fortified by his approval and blest in his

guidance, I have presented in this paper some results of my attempts towards a correct interpretation and proper assessment of the value of Vedic texts and rites.

5. Dr. SHAMASAstry has successfully refuted the opinion held in some quarters that the Vedic Āryans had not acquired accurate ideas of astronomical phenomena. In his book "Eclipse-cult" he has quoted passages from the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and the Sūtras which demonstrate beyond a shadow of doubt that the Vedic Āryans had discovered the thousand and odd days cycle in the recurrence of eclipses and had used that knowledge in framing their calendar of rites and sacrifices.

Following the lead thus given by him, I believe I have succeeded in proving that even so early as the period of the R̥g-vedic hymns the Vedic Āryans were aware of the facts that eclipses recur at regular intervals and recorded the results of their observations in a conventional code widely understood at the time but unfortunately lost sight of by later generations. The hymns have served the multiple purposes of a religious code, social history, sublime poetry, and scientific record. The sanctity attached to the hymns has helped their preservation in their original form. The change of a single syllable or accent in their recitation has been regarded as an unpardonable sin. We can be thus certain that we have the hymns in their pristine purity. The stories and legends that are found scattered through out the Vedas are either historical accounts, or metaphorical or symbolic descriptions of natural scientific and astral phenomena. Thanks to the monumental labours of eminent Vedic scholars in the West, the East and the Far EAST; the arduous task of their decipherment has been greatly facilitated. Comparative Philology, and Mythology, the recently developed sciences of Geology, and Archaeology have furnished the modern student of Vedic research with an array of instruments of precision. The torch of research lighted up by great pioneers like Lokamānya B. G. TILAK, Dr. JACOB and other giants of the East and the West, has been handed over to younger co-workers. Animated by this humble spirit of service, I proceed to present a brief account of the results achieved by me in my attempts to decipher the

remarkable cryptograms hidden in the Śunahśepa hymns of the Ṛg-Veda and in the legend of Śuanhśepa as transmitted to us by the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. (Vide Keith's Ṛg. vedic Brāhmaṇas: pp. 299-309. Ait. Br. Adhyāya 33., 1-6. Sāmkyāyana Śrauta-Sūtra XV17. Āśvalāyana Śr. Sūtra. IX. 3-9-16. Max Muller History of Ancient Skt. lit. (1859) pp. 573 588. Baudhāyana Śr. Sūtra XII Āpastamba Śr. Sūtra XIII. 19. Kātyāyana Śr. Sūtra XV5-1.). These and other references can be found in Dr. KEITH's book. Vide also Devi Bhāgavata.

PART II

6. It is a well-known peculiarity of a Vedic Mantra that its application is many-sided. Though on the face of it it is addressed to some special deity, it contains an indirect reference to others, either by a trick of expression or by the use of an epithet applicable also to another god, or in a special context. For instance, while discussing the particular Mantra addressed to Agni that should begin the invocation in the Aśvina-śāstra, the selection of the Mantra is based on the occurrence of the word "house" in the Mantra to be employed. Alternatives are rejected because of certain words occurring in them being regarded as inauspicious. It is this secondary aspect of a Mantra that governs its application in any given case even though it be in supersession of its primary objective. I am afraid that this characteristic trait of a Vedic Mantra has not received due attention from Vedic scholars, and it is my sincere belief that many Vedic passages which have been hitherto regarded as inexplicable will be capable of quite a rational interpretation as soon as this secret key is employed to decipher them. Preconceived notions as to the antiquity of the Vedas have often stood in the way of a proper elucidation of Vedic texts. History demonstrates, that given a similar initial equipment, nations progress more or less on similar lines and parallel discoveries are made by peoples geographically distant from one another. If the Egyptians or the Sumerians of the fifth millennium before Christ could be believed to have acquired accurate knowledge of natural phenomena, it is not improbable that the Vedic seers of India had also attained at least to that level. It was this consi-

deration that induced me to examine the Śunahśepa hymns in the new light cast upon them by the discovery of the Eclipse-cult permeating the Vedas. I am glad to be able to demonstrate that the eclipse series recorded in these hymns tally remarkably well with the data furnished by modern astronomy. The Table of Eclipses IV in the Indian Ephemeris compiled by Dr. L. D. SWĀMIKANNU PILLAY, and reprinted in a modified form as an appendix to the "Eclipse-cult," has served me as a basis for constant reference. I have reproduced the same Table in a different form expressing intervals between eclipses in terms of parvas in place of the number of days from the commencement of the Hindu solar year. Table IV. gives all the possible eclipses in a period of "*Fifty-eight years minus forty-one days*," whether they are all visible in the same locality or not. I have so numbered them that the eclipse-number gives the number of parvas that have elapsed since the commencement of the cycle. If the eclipse-number is even, the eclipse indicated by it is solar ; if it is odd it is lunar. The numerical difference between two eclipse-numbers gives the measure of the parva-interval separating them. This innovation has enabled me to establish the complete identity that exists between the Ṛg-vedic series and the fifty-eight year cycle. It has furnished an easy and elegant method of enumeration and verification of the Ṛg-vedic series.

PART III

7. The following laws governing the recurrence of eclipses can be deduced from the table :

(a) The minimum interval separating two eclipses is one parva or half lunation, equivalent to a period of 14·8 days; the interval between a full moon and the next new-moon or vice versa. Of the two consecutive eclipses one will be solar, and the other lunar ; they both occur at the same node in the same nodal season. For convenience of reference we shall call them a "Doublet".

(b) Three eclipses can occur one after another at the same node at intervals of one Parva each, with an interval of two parvas between the first and the third. Of these three, the first and the third should be solar with the middle one always lunar.

The two solar eclipses may be designated "the solar twins" and the three together constitute a triplet.¹

(c) The ecliptic-point or the position of the sun with reference to the node of the moon at the time of the eclipse, whether solar or lunar, recedes at a uniform rate and the rate per year is such that triplets occur normally once in three years at each node, periodically in two consecutive years at the same node. Periodically two triplets can also occur one at each node, during the same year.

(d) Four eclipses² of the same denomination (solar or lunar) occurring at any one node in successive nodal years constitutes a fundamental "unit" cycle with a length of 1388 days or 94 Parvas. This period is almost exactly equal to a period of four nodal years³ (1386 days). The Rġ-vedic cycle is composed of two such units.

(e) The fundamental cycle is composed of three equal intervals of 24 Parvas each, followed by a short interval of 22 Parvas. They recur cyclically in the order 24, 24, 24, and 22. Once in eighteen years due to the fact that the formation of a lunar eclipse is not possible when the distance of the sun from a node exceeds 15 degrees (the lunar ecliptic limit-), the shorter interval of 22 parvas is separated from the next shorter one by two-not-three-longer intervals of 24 parvas. In fact it is this periodical departure from the normal order that bestows on the 58 year cycle its cyclic properties, of "endlessness" or universal applicability. The cycle holds good for all time.

(f) Except in the case of a doublet or triplet, the interval between two consecutive eclipses is ten parvas or greater.

(g) Each member of a doublet or a triplet forms a constituent of a separate fundamental unit, distinct from one another.

(h) An eclipse at the ascending node is separated from the corresponding one at the descending node by the normal interval of twelve parvas (nearly 173 days). Since every eclipse

1. Tryambaka or Triyambaka. Rs.

2. Sarana with four eyes? Rs.

3. A nodal year is nearly equal to 346.5 days. Rs.

at a node will invariably have one companion (sometimes two), deviation from the normal to the extent of one or two Parvas on either side is also a regular feature.

(i) The minimum interval between two triplets occurring at the same node is one year and the maximum is three years. When the nodes are different, the interval may be six months, or 18 months or 3 years. Not more than three triplets can occur consecutively, two at one node and the third at the other. When two triplets occur consecutively the Parva intervals between the members taken two at a time can assume ${}_6C_2$ or 15 values. (4 one parva, 2 two-parvas, 3 twelve-parvas, 2 thirteen-parvas, 1 ten parvas and 1 fourteen-parvas). If the triplets occur at different nodes, the possible values are 1, 2, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 (vide above), when the main interval is six months; 1, 2, 33, 34, 35, 36 and 37, when the triplet interval is 18 months. When the triplet interval is one year, and the node is same, the values are 1, 2, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26. and they are 1, 2, 45, 46, 47, 48 and 49 for a two-year interval.

(j) Not more than two lunar eclipses can occur in one nodal year. Four solar corresponding to two triplets are possible.

(k) The shorter interval of 22 parvas is always associated with the occurrence of a triplet in the case of solar eclipses and with a shift of the ecliptic point from the eastern to the western side of the node in the case of lunar eclipses.

N. B.—The details given above are for convenience of reference by non-mathematical readers, who might like to work out the positions of the R̥g-vedic series for themselves from first principles.

PART IV

8. I shall next proceed to describe the system of notation employed by the Vedic R̥sis for recording the time of occurrence of the eclipses observed by them. The method is highly ingenious. If the Nakshatras in which two eclipses occur are known, the interval of time can be easily calculated. The value must satisfy the two conditions, that it must be an integral number of Parvas, and that it must be one of the possible numbers 1, 2; 10 to 14; 22 to 26; 33 to 37 and 45 to 49. For each pair of

Nakshatras we get two or more alternative values for their Parva-interval corresponding to the two nodes and the magnitude of the interval. For convenience of reference, I have used the term *Determinant* to indicate the number of Nakshatras intervening between two eclipses, and the term *Parva-number* to denote the time-interval expressed as integral Parvas. The Table drawn up by me for the purpose gives all the admissible Parva numbers corresponding to all the possible values of the determinant ranging from zero to 27. The values have been culled out from Dr. Shamasastri's book, "The Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa" (pp. 8-10. Table of Parvas and Nakshatra-amśas). A glance at the Table IV of Dr. Swāmikannu Pillay will show that not all the mathematically-possible eclipses of the Fifty-eight year cycle will be actually visible in any given locality on earth, but only a percentage of them. The rest have to be located on theoretical considerations. Dr. Pillay marked V against all eclipses that have been recorded as visible on some part of the globe or other by the several nations between the years A. D. 1 and A. D. 58. In his book The "Drapsa", Dr. Shamasastri has compiled a Table of observed eclipses (pp. 177 to 184) by a reference to the Pañchāṅgams (almanacks) of the eighty years from 1840 to 1920. An examination of these Tables will make it clear that in some cases the interval between two observed eclipses was 18 months and over, but only a year or under in all other cases. I have taken into consideration the possibility of the Vedic seer (who drew up the Śunahśepa list) having missed to notice one of the intermediate visible eclipses with the result that the observed interval mounted up to over two years. I have therefore included Parva numbers up to 49.

9. The following principles have been adopted in the preparation of the Tables: (a) Since a Parva interval corresponds to an interval of 14-59 Nakshatras every Parva number will correspond to each of the two consecutive integers between which the value of the Nakshatra-interval lies. An illustration will make this point clear. Suppose the first eclipse falls on a new moon in the Aświni Nakshatra (ARIES), and the second to fall on the next full-moon. If the first has occurred in the first quarter of Aświni, the second which

occurs 14-6 Nakshatras later will be in the last quarter of Swāti. But if the first occurs in the second half of Aświni, the second will be in the first half of Viśākhā. Thus corresponding to the single eclipse-Nakshatra Aświni, we have two possible eclipse Nakshatras, (Swāti) the one representing the lower integer and the other Viśākha denoting the upper integer marking the two limits of the fraction. Thus corresponding to every parva number we get two values for Determinant, differing by unity. Conversely, each value of the determinant will correspond to two or more Parva numbers. For example: the determinant 14 will satisfy Parva numbers 1, 12, 25. This merely means that eclipses will occur in the fourteenth Nakshatra after that of the first after intervals of 1, 12, and 25 Parvas respectively, the choice of the particular Parva-number being determined by the position of the second eclipse in the eclipse-series.

(b) If the Nakshatras are tabulated with Aświni counted as the first and Revati as the last i. e. as the twenty seventh, the determinant will be obtained by subtracting the serial number of the first eclipse-Nakshatra from that of the second. When the serial no. of the second eclipse-Nakshatra is numerically smaller than that of the first, add 27 before subtracting, e. g. $7+27-24=10$. When the first is Shatabhisa and 2nd Punarvasu, the determinant is 10 obtained by adding 27 to 7 and then subtracting 24 from their sum. Parva-numbers 1, 2, 22, to 26 and 45 to 49 refer to the same node as the first; nos. 10 to 14 and 33 to 37 indicate a change of node. When the Parva-number is even, the eclipses are both solar or lunar. When it is odd, one is solar and the other lunar.

PART V

9. Having fixed up a method of interpreting the interval between two eclipse-Nakshatras, we have got to turn our attention to the devices adopted by the Vedic Ṛṣis to indicate the Nakshatras themselves. A Nakshatra is usually indicated by its popular title or the name of the god or deity associated with it, or by a conventional symbol. The problem becomes complicated when synonyms are used in place of the usual title. The difficulty increases when we find the same deity is associated with more than one Nakshatra or the same Nakshatra has

been consecrated to more than one god. Indra for example is the overlord of Jyēsthā, Shatabhisa, and Chitrā: Chitrā has two deities Indra and Tvaṣṭar, Mūla has three, Pitharas (fathers), Niṣṛiti, and Prajāpati. An epithet is frequently employed to indicate a god, and the same epithet refers often to more than one god. The task is therefore not an easy one, even under normal conditions. But when the name of the god or Nakshatra is to be conjectured from the indirect reference to it in a Mantra which is obviously addressed to some other god, special means have to be adopted if we are to avoid mere guesses. The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (Aṣṭakas 1-5; Aṣṭ. III-1 to 4); and the Atharva Veda (Book XIX-7 to 10) come to our help and pull us out of the dilemma. The distinctive phraseology employed in the invocations to the individual Nakshatras, enables us to identify the eclipse Nakshatras of the Ṛgvedic hymns with a remarkable measure of certainty. A careful examination of the Śunahśepa hymns reveals the fact that each Mantra of a hymn contains two references: one to the god to whom it is directly addressed and the other to the Nakshatra (or its deity) in which the eclipse represented by the Mantra should have occurred. This is a favourite device of the Vedic Ṛṣis, similar to the use of metres or mystic numbers to indicate the gods. The method is no doubt round-about, but in those days when all instruction had to be imparted orally, packed into a compact form, convenient for oral transmission from generation to generation, the Vedic Ṛṣis could not have adopted a better one. When the key to a cipher code is known, deciphering is an easy matter. It cannot be definitely stated whether the Ṛg-vedic seers had divided the zodiac into 27 or 28 Nakshatras or as Dr. Kaye in his article on Hindu astronomy, has suggested, only 24 parts, equal or unequal. We know only that there was no clear-cut distinction between the two Phalgunis, the Āshādhās and the two Bhādrapadās, that they were often treated as single groups, with interchangeable parts. In the case of each of these twins, the members possessed both individual and family traits. Since the Ṛg-vedic eclipses fit into the 58 year cycle quite automatically, the assumption that the Ṛg-vedic division of the zodiac was much the same as the present cannot be far from the truth.

10. The identification of the R̥g-vedic eclipse-Nakshatra has been based on the following criteria. The Nakshatra has been inferred from—

- (a) a direct mention of its popular name e. g. Revati, Hasta.
- (b) the name of the deity presiding over the Nakshatra; Bhaga, Indra.
- (c) the Epithet commonly associated with the Nakshatra or its lord; e. g. Madhumat (Aświni); Rāja (Varuṇa) Mithū-dṛśau (Mūla).
- (d) the descriptive functions ascribed to the lord, removal of upper middle and lower bonds.—Varuṇa, and Bṛhaspati (T. Br. III—1).
- (e) the symbol of the Nakshatra (Sūrya-sidhdhānta), e. g. Gṛha-Punarvasu.
- (f) the special rite for the performance of which the Nakshatra is regarded auspicious or suitable, Viśākhā, Rohiṇi.
- (g) its position in the eclipse-series when alternatives are indicated.
- (h) the names of attendants (two for each) assigned to them (T. Br. I-5.) Vata-Punarvasu, satyam and ritam-Chittrā.
- (i) names of individual stars, Ahar (Mūla), Pūrṇa (Viśākha).
- (j) contextual reference, Ratham (sun)—Hasta, Aksha (axe) Vāyu—Swati.
- (k) conventional usage. Shrotra (ear) Śravaṇa; Shrotr-aswinau-Aświni. The Atharva-veda associates Uṣas-dawn-or Sūnṛta with Punarvasu.

The Aświnau appear to have been a peripatetic pair serving as heralds to the sun and sharing the equinoctial precession. When exactly they were permanently attached to the constellation in Aries cannot be definitely stated. Probably it was when the winter solstice occurred in Aries (Ath. Veda III-10.). Since the dawn, Uṣas, is usually associated with the Aświns, I have assigned to them over-lordship of Pushya and Punarvasu especially as the Atharva veda identifies Āshleshā with the sun. (XIX-7-3 and Tai. Brah. III-1). Indra is connected with Jyeṣṭha, Shatabhisha, and Chittrā—Prajāpati with Rohiṇi and Mūla, Vāyu

with Swāti and Punarvasu. Full-moon with Vishākhā, Mṛgaśīrṣa and Pūrva-āṣadhā (waters), Sūrya with Āśleṣā, Hasta, Anurādhā (Mitra) and Pūrva-bhādra as Aja-ekapāt. Agni with Kṛttikās, Vṣākhā and Uttarā-bhādra as Ahir-budhnyā. Yama-Bharaṇi; Rudra-Ārdra; Pṛthwi or Aditi-Punarvasu and Viśākā; Fathers-Maghās and Mūla, are other identifications. For other details I refer the reader to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Aṣṭaka III-1 to 6. Vide Tilak : 9th Oriental Conference Report.

In some cases the Sūrya-siddhānta inverts the order, e. g. Bhaga and Aryamā, Aja ekapāt and Ahirbudhnyā. I have followed the Tai. Brāhmaṇa order.

PART VI

11. The fundamental cycle of the Śunahśepa hymns is one of 2780 days or eight nodal years. The basis of this inference is the number of letters in the seven hymns taken together, which is 2768. This figure is obtained by multiplying the number of verses of each metre by the number of letters in that metre. The following analysis will make the point clear :

Hymn	Deity	Metre	No. of verses	Total No. of letters,
I-24	Prajāpati	Triṣṭup	1	1 × 44 44
"	Agni	do	1	1 × 44 44
	Savitar	Gāyatri	1	1 × 24 24
	Bhaga etc.	do	2	2 × 24 48
	Varuṇa etc.	Triṣṭup	10	10 × 44 440
I-25	Varuṇa	Gāyatri	21	21 × 24 504
I-26	Agni	Gāyatri	10	10 × 24 240
I-27	Agni	Gāyatri	12	12 × 24 288
	Viswe-devas	Triṣṭup	1	1 × 44 44
I-28	Indra	Anuṣṭup	4	4 × 32 128
	Ulūkhala	} do	2	2 × 32 64
	Prajāpati and			
	Hariś-chandra	Gāyatri	3	3 × 24 72
I-29	Indra	Pañkti	7	7 × 40 280
I-30	Indra	Gāyatri	15	15 × 24 360
	do	Triṣṭup	1	1 × 44 44
	Aświns	Gāyatri	3	3 × 24 72
	Uṣas	do	3	3 × 24 72
				<hr/> Total ..2768

According to the legend of Śunahśepa, Rohita wandered in the wild for seven years ; this period amounts to 7×354.4 or 2480.4 days. Rohita paid 300 cows to Ajigarta for complete liberation. In Vedic phraseology a cow means a day (vide Gavām-ayana by Dr. Shamasastri). Therefore 300 cows mean 300 days. Hence the total Rohita period amounts to 2480.4 plus 300 = 2780.4 days. As already described, the fundamental period of the 58-year cycle is 94 Parvas or 1388 days. A period of 188 parvas or two units will be 2776 days. Eight nodal years are equal to 346.61×8 or 2772.88 days. All these several values deduced from independent sets of data agree closely among themselves and support the inference that the basic period of the Ṛg-vedic eclipse cycle was 188 Parvas.

12. The eclipse cycle of 188 parvas (2776 days) or eight nodal years (2773 days) forms the backbone of all the religious rites in the Rājasūya Sacrifice. Most of the Mantras employed are taken from the Śunahśepa hymns. Just as the Aswamedha sacrifice symbolises the attempt of the Vedic Ṛṣis to evolve an accurate luni-solar calendar, the Rājasūya sacrifice contains a record of the information that they gathered about eclipses. The legend of Śunahśepa is a metaphorical representation of an astronomical myth, and an important law of eclipses. Ajigarta, the father of Śunahśepa, represents the star-group Āśleśā. The eldest son, Sunah-puchcha, is Canis Major. The youngest son, Śuno-lāngūla, is Canis Minor. Some star in the Orion region will represent Śunahśepa. (Mono.-ceros). The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (I-10) informs us that Father Vyoma and Mother Bhūmi have three children, Bṛhaspati, Rudra, and Saramā. As a working hypothesis we shall assume that Vyoma is Prajāpati, (Orion's belt stars), Bhūmi or Aditi is Punarvasu, Rudra is of course Ārdra, and Pushya is Bṛhaspati. Then Saramā, the divine Dog, will be automatically represented by Canis Major and Canis Minor. Sirius the dog-star will be her head (Suna-sira), Canis Major her stumps, Canis Minor her tail and Ārdra naturally her yoni. We shall not be wrong if we identify Śunahśepa (as the name itself suggests private parts) with Ārdra. I have shown in the table relating to Rohita's travels that on this hypothesis Ajigarta (serpent) Āśleśā, and Śunahśepa Ārdra

exactly fit into the eclipse series. It is a law of eclipses (vide Eclipse-cult pp. 7-71) that once in every 1150 years, the track of eclipses changes. Dr. Shamasastri is of opinion that at the time of the Vedic hymns the track of the equinoxial or solstitial eclipses was, in the region of the zodiac allotted by them to the Aświns¹ probably, as surmised by me, Punarvasu. It is on this consideration as well as the explicit statement of the Atharva-veda (XXIX-7) identifying Ushas with Punarvasu that I have allotted to the Aświns, the two star groups Punarvasu and Tishya in addition to the first point of Aries. It is my belief that the release of Śunahśepa is an allusion to the change of track.²

13. In this connection I wish to emphasise an important aspect of the identification of the eclipse Nakshatras. It may be that in those early times the position of the moon in the Nakshatra was defined in terms of its proximity to the junction star of the group instead of the equi-spaced zodiacal divisions of modern times. In the absence of definite indications in the Vedas, I have adopted the modern divisions of 27 equal intervals. It is therefore possible that in some cases there is a discrepancy of one Nakshatra between the Nakshatra of the Ṛg-vedic Mantra and its modern equivalent. Hence it is that both Punarvasu and Pushya correspond to the Aświns. And either constituent of the dual stars, the Phalgun is, the Ashadās and the Proṣṭapadas answers the eclipse requirements. Unaided ocular observation might introduce an error of half a Nakshatra-space, which might result in the transfer of the eclipse to the contiguous asterism. Dr. Swami Kannu Pillay has shrewdly remarked in his Note on eclipses in his Indian Ephemeris (Vol. I) that owing to the uncertainty of the moon's movements, it would be impossible to forecast eclipses over a long interval in advance. If that is the case, it should be no wonder if some of the eclipses of the Ṛgveda do

1. This agrees with the conclusions of Dr. Jacobi and Lokamānya B. G. Tilak that in the 3000 years B. C. Summer solstice receded from the Phalgunis to Pushya, the Winter solstice from Revati to Satabhishaj, and the two equinoxes from Ārdra to Kṛttikā and from Anurādhā to Chitrā.

2. Here release means release from eclipse, as well as the eclipse track Vide Pillai's Indian Ephemeris Pp. 146-147 and also Rohita: The Test of the Vedic eclipse cycle by R. S. (*Orientalist Vol. V. No. 4*)

not fall exactly in the place which modern tables would assign to them. A difference of one Nakṣatra would be within the limits of observational error and the idiosyncracies of the moon's orbital movements.

14. Each of the Śunahśepa hymns represents an eclipse series. Similarly each of the episodes in the story of Śunahśepa yields an eclipse series. Rohita's wanderings, and the prayer of Śunahśepa, indicate lists of eclipses. I have also shown that two of the Mantras of the Rājasūya rituals are eclipse-cycles of 188 Parvas. A systematic investigation might yield surprising results.

15. In the tables of eclipses prepared by using the data in the R̥gvedic Mantras, I have tried my best to base my identification on commonly accepted lines. But there are cases where some degree of conjecture is unavoidable. In such cases, the identification has been based on the peculiar wordings employed in the Mantra that find an echo in the Taitt. Brāhmaṇa invocatory passages. I trust that the omission of an intermediate Nakṣatra does not affect the validity of the rest.

16. It must be clearly understood that I do not claim that the series given by me are the only possible consistent with the data given in the hymns. A glance at the 58-years cycle Table will convince the reader that between two eclipses at an interval of 188 Parvas there are on an average 35 intermediate eclipses. The highest number required by the Vedic Mantras is 26, and the selection of these 26 can be made in a large number of ways ($_{35}C_{26}$). The problem is similar to the selection of one out of many alternative routes between two stations. The destination reached is the same but the places visited on the way will vary with the route. A change of one of the intermediate eclipses merely leads to a partial variation in the series.

17. The number of possible eclipses in the grand cycle of 58 years, is 286, of which about 145 have been recorded as visible in some part of the globe or other. The cycle is equal to 1432 Parvas, or three Saros cycles of 18 years and 11 days, or three periods of 477 Parvas each, or nearly three periods of 20 lunar years. The number of possible eclipses per period of 20

years is 101; out of which 50 or 51 will be visible. As has been pointed out by Dr. Shama Sastry in his Eclipse-cult and the Drapsa, the Vedic unit of cycle for religious purposes was 20 years. Thus the episode of Viśvāmitra and his 101 sons admits of a coherent explanation when the sons are equated to the 101 eclipses in 20 years. The statement that Viśvāmitra cursed his elder 50 sons and disowned them merely paraphrases the astronomical phenomenon that out of the 101 eclipses of a 20 year period, 50 are invisible. The Vedic record agrees with observation and it is left to modern astronomers to furnish the mathematical explanation.

18. There is one more point to which I wish to draw the attention of my readers. The story of Aditi and her eight sons, of whom only seven went to heaven with her while the eighth was half-developed and remained on earth, is also a metaphorical description of astronomical data. Dr. Shama Sastry has explained the story in terms of inter-calary months. (Vide Drapsa pp. 57-60, Ṛgveda X. Maitrāyaṇīya Samhitā 1-6-12.)

The story of Sunahśepa affords another in terms of eclipse cycles. Hariśchandra puts off the fulfilment of his vow on a number of pretexts—the child must be over ten days old, teeth must appear, fall away and reappear and the child must develop into a youth. This period is on paraphrase equal to 3 parvas, in terms of the moon's waning and waxing. At the end of this preliminary period Rohita runs away to the forest. The period of his wandering from the moment of his running away to the emancipation of Sunahśepa and himself, is 188 Parvas. Adding the two together we get 191 Parvas as the duration of the danger period for Rohita. Seven and a half times 191 is $1432\frac{1}{2}$ Parvas, or the length of the 58 year cycle. We may therefore assume that Aditi stands for the grand 58 year cycle and her seven and a half sons to $7\frac{1}{2}$ Rohita cycles. This remarkable coincidence to within half a Parva may have its own significance. That the Vedic Āryans had discovered the 58 year cycle and in their usual way incorporated it in the legend of Aditi and her sons.

The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka version of Aditi and her eight sons (Tait, Ar. I-13) admits of a similar explanation. One-eighth of 1432 Parvas is 179. The period between the birth of Rohita and

the purchase of Śunahśepa by the payment of the first hundred cows (Days) is equal to seven years of 24 Parvas each plus three Parvas of the preliminary period, plus 100 days or nearly 7 Parvas i. e. a total of 178 Parvas, which differs from the other by one Parva. These remarkable coincidences justify in my opinion the renaming the 58 year cycle as the grand *Aditi* cycle of eclipses, since Aditi, as Prof. Max Müller pointed out, is but a synonym for infinity which extends both into the past and the future.

Nakshatra Equivalentents of Parva—Numbers

(Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa)

TABLE I

TABLE II

Parva-numbers	No. nakṣatras	Determinants	Parva-numbers
1	14.59	0	37, 24, 13 —
2	2.18	1	26, 13 —
10	10.89	2	26, 2 —
11	25.48	3	2 —
12	13.07	8	— 45
13	0.65	9	— 45
14	15.24	10	34, — 10, 47
22	23.95	11	23, 10, 47
23	11.54	12	36, 23, — 49
24	26.13	13	36, 25, 12, 49
25	13.72	14	25, 12, 1
26	1.31	15	14, 1
33	22.43	16	14, —
34	10.02	22	33, — —
35	24.61	23	33, 22, — 46
36	12.20	24	35, 22, — 46
37	26.78	25	35, — 11, 48
45	8.49	26	37, 24, 11, 48
46	23.08	27	37, 24, 13, —
47	10.67		
48	25.26		
49	12.85		

N. B. One Parva = 14.766 Days or 14.6 Nakṣatras.

TABLE III

Serial No.	Nakṣatra	Serial No.	Nakṣatra
1	Aświni.	15	Swāti.
2	Bharāṇi.	16	Viśāhkā.
3	Kṛttikās.	17	Anurādhā.
4	Rohiṇi	18	Jyeṣṭhā.
5	Mṛigaśira.	19	Mūla.
6	Ārdrā.	20	Pūrva-āṣad.
7	Punarvasus.	21	Uttara-āṣadās.
8	Puṣya (Tiṣya)	22	Sravaṇa.
9	Āśleṣā.	23	Shravista (Dhaniṣṭā).
10	Maghās.	24	Shatabisha.
11	Pūrvā-phalguni.	25	Pūrvā-bhādrapadā.
12	Uttarā-phalguni.	26	Uttarā-bhādrapadā.
13	Hasta.	27	Revati.
14	Chitrā.	21A	Abhijit

TABLE IV

The 58 year (Aditi) cycle of eclipses

Modified form of the Table drawn up by Dr. Swamikannu Pillay

Solar year	A. solar	N. solar	D. solar	N. solar	A. lunar	N. lunar	D. lunar
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 9
1	12		0 V			11	1 V
2	36 V		24			35 V	23
3	60	58	48	46		59 V	47 V
4	82		70 V			83	71 V
5	106 V		94 V			105	95
							117
			142	140 V			
6	130 V		118			129	
7	154 V	152	164 V			153 V	165 V
8	176		188 V			177 V	189
9	200 V		212			199	211 V
10	224	222	236	234 V		223 V	235
11	248	246	258 V			247	259 V
12	270 V		282			271	281
13	294 V		306			293 V	305 V
14	318 V	316	330		lun.	317 V	329 V
15	364		352 V	328	365	341	353 V
16	388 V		376 V			387 V	375

17	412	410	400	398		411	399 V	
18	434		424	422 V		435 V	423 V	
19	458 V		446 V			457	447 V	
20	482 V		470 V			481 V	469 V	
21	506 V	504	494	492		505 V	493 V	
22	528		516 V			529 V	517 V	
23	552		540			551	541	563 V
24	576 V		564			575 V	587 V	
25	600 V		588	610 V		599 V	611 V	
26	622		634 V			623 V	635	
27	646 V		658			645	657 V	
28	670 V	668	680	682		669 V	681 V	
29	694	692	704 V			693 V	705 V	
30	716 V		728 V			717 V	727	
31	740 V		752			739 V	751 V	
32	764 V	762	776	774		763 V	775 V	
33	786 V	810	798 V				787	799 V
34	834		822 V		811 V	833 V	821	
35	858 V	856	846	844		857 V	845 V	
36	880		870	868 V		881 V	869 V	
37	904 V		892 V			905	893 V	
38	928		916 V			927 V	915	
39	952 V	950	940	938		951 V	939	
40	974		964	962		975 V	963 V	
41	998 V		986 V			997	987	
42	1022 V		1010	1032 V		1021 V	1009 V	1033 V
43	1046	1044	1056	1034		1045 V	1057 V	
44	1068		1080			1069	1081	
45	1092 V		1104			1091	1103 V	
46	1116 V	1114	1128	1126 V		1115 V	1127 V	
47	1140	1138	1150			1139 V	1151 V	
48	1162 V		1174 V			1163 V	1173	
49	1186 V		1198			1185 V	1197 V	
50	1210 V	1208	1222	1220		1209	1221 V	
51	1232		1244 V			1233 V	1245 V	
52	1256 V	1280 V	1268		1257	1279 V	1267	
53	1304 V	1302	1292			1303 V	1291	
54	1326		1316	1314		1327 V	1315 V	
55	1350		1338 V			1351	1339 V	
56	1374 V		1362 V			1373 V	1361	
57	1398	1396	1386	1384		1397 V	1385 V	
58	1420		1410	1408 V		1421 V	1409 V	
59	1444		1432 V			1443	1433 V	

N.B. :—Year 59 corresponds to year 1 and the cycle repeats itself. The numbering may be continued with zero as 1432.

V = visible somewhere on the globe.

Key to the eclipse tables

Column 1. Gives the serial no. of the Mantra in the hymn.

2. The words that suggest the eclipse-Nakṣatra are noted. The R̥gvedic Mantra must be compared with the invocation to the Nakṣatra in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa III-1.
3. The deity or name of eclipse Nakṣatra; if epithets indicate more than one the one suited to the series is chosen.
4. Serial no. of Nakṣatra in the Aświnādi Revati list.
5. Determinant i. e. no. of Naks. between that in the row and the one above it in the previous row.
6. Parva interval corresponding to D.
7. The eclipse number of the 58 yr. (Aditi) cycle.

TABLE V

The eclipse series of R̥g-vedic hymns

R̥g-veda I Mandala. Hymn no. 24.

1	2	3		5	6	7
Mantra	Code-word	nak.	N	D	P	E. no.
1	Ka.	Prajāpati	4	—	—	715
2	Agni	Agni	3	26	24	740
3	Savitar	Savitar	13	10	34	774
4	Bhaga	Bhaga	12	26	24	798
5	Bhaga-bhakta	Aryamā	11	26	24	822
6	Kṣatram	Varuṇa	24	13	12	834
do	Vaya	Viṣṇu's eagle	22	25	11	845
do	Apah	Waters	20	25	11	856
do	Vāta	Upadevatā of Aditi	7	14	25	881
7	Abudhne	Mūla	19	12	23	904
8	Sūryapantha	Antariksha	17	25	35	939
9	Urvi	Prithwi	16	26	11	950
do	Nirriti	Mūla	19	3	2	952
10	Chandramā	Pūrṇa	16	24	22	974
do	Naktam	Full moon	16	0	24	998
11	Brāhmaṇa's	Ahir-budhnya	26	10	34	1032
12	Diva-naktam	Aświnau	1	2	2	1034
13	Varuṇa	Śatabisha	24	23	22	1056
14	Asura	Varuṇa	24	0	13	1069
15	Three-bonds	Bṛhaspati	8	11	23	1092

N.B.—15 mantras, 20 eclipses. Total period 376

TABLE VI

R̥gveda 1st mandala hymn no. 25 XXV verses 21.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	code	deity	N	D	P	EC.no.
I	Varuṇa	Varuṇa	24	—	—	622
do	Vratam	Maghās	10	13	36	658
2	Natnave	Sravista	23	13	12	670
do	Manyave	Rudra	6	10	10	680
3	Girb̥hih	Bṛhaspati	8	2	2	682
4	Para	Mūla	19	11	10	692
do	Vaya (eagle)	Viṣṇu	22	3	2	694
5	Narav	Aświnau	7	12	23	717
6	Context	Mṛgaśira	5	25	11	728
7	Samudriya	Moon	5	0	24	752
8	Prajavata	Mūla	19	14	12	764
do	Upa māsa	Indra	18	26	11	775
9	Vatasya-vartani	Antarikṣa	17	26	11	786
10	Sāmrajya	Indra	18	1	13	799
11	Adbhuta	Chittrā	14	23	22	821
12	Adityas supatha	Karala Vāyu	15	1	13	834
do	Viswaha	Chittra	14	26	11	845
13	Hiranya-spasa	Sūrya	13	26	11	856
14	Abhimataya	Yama	2	16	14	870
15	Yasam-asami	Revati	27	25	11	881
16	Gāvo-gavyūti	do	27	0	24	905
	Madhwa-hota	Ahimbudh	26	26	11	916
18	Ratham	Sūrya	13	14	12	928
19	Varuṇa	Varuṇa	24	11	23	951
20	Viśwasya-rajasi	Aja-Ekapāt	25	1	13	964
21	Pashatrya vichrita	Bṛhaspati	8	10	34	998

N. B.—Verses 21 eclipses 26 total period 376 parvas.

TABLE VII
R̥gveda 1st Mandala Hymn No. 26 XXVI

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Vasiswa	Varuṇa	24	—	—	680
2	Hota	Agni	26	2	2	682
3	Pitāh	Maghā	10	11	10	692
4	Varuṇa	Varuṇa	24	14	1	693
do	Aryamā	P. phalguni	11	14	12	705
5	Girah	Br̥haspati	8	24	22	727
6	Devam-devam	Viśwe-devas	21	13	12	739
7	Vispati	Prajapāti	4	10	47	784
	Swagnayah	Agni	3	26	24	816
9	Martyanam	Yama	2	26	24	830
10	Viśwagni	Ahimbudhnya	26	24	35	869

N. B.—Verses 10 eclipses 11 total 189.

TABLE VIII
R̥gveda 1-27, Hymn No. 27 XXVII

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Aswam	Aświnau	7	—	—	1009
do	Samrajantam-	Indra	18	11	23	1021
2	Pr̥thu-pragama	Vāyu	15	24	35	1056
3	Viśvāyuh	Vāyu	15	0	13	1369
4	Gayatram-Agne	Ahimbudhnya	26	11	23	1092
5	Bonds	Varuṇa	24	25	11	1103
do	Vasu	Sravista	23	26	37	1140
6	Sindhu	Waters	20	24	22	1162
7	Pr̥thsu-avasi	Br̥haspati	8	15	1	1163
8	Sravvyah	Aświnau	7	26	11	1174
9	Arva	do	7	0	24	1198
10	Visa (praja)	Rohiṇi	4	24	22	1220
do	Rudra	Ārdrā	6	2	2	1222
11	Puruschandra	Full-moon	16	10	10	1232
12	Vispati	Prajāpati	4	15	1	1233
do	Ketu, sruno,	Aświnau	1	24	46	1279
do	ukthaiḥ-agni	Ahimbudhnya	26	25	35	1314
do	Brāhad-bhānu	Aja-Ekpāt	25	26	24	1338
13	Viśwe-devas	Ut. Āśādhā	21	23	46	1384

TABLE IX

R̥gveda I Mandala Hymn No. XXVIII

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Pr̥thubudhnya	Ahīrb.	26	—	—	728
2	Jaghanau	Bhaga	12	13	36	764
3	Sikshate	Br̥haspati	8	23	22	786
4	Rashmin	Aświnau	7	26	24	810
5	Grihe-grihe	Punarvasu	7	0	24	834
6	Vanaspāti	Rudra	6	26	11	845
do	Vāta	Punarvasu	7	1	13	858
7	Vajasatama	Soma	5	25	35	893
8	Madhumat	Aświnau	1	23	22	915
9	Hariśchandra-soma	Moon	16	15	1	916

N. B.—Verses 9 eclipses 10 total 188 parvas.

TABLE X

R̥gveda I - XXIX (29)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Satya	Chittrā	14	—	—	938
2	Vajānam-pate	Pūshan	27	13	12	950
3	Mithudṛshau	Yama	2	2	2	952
4	Arathava	Swāti	15	13	12	964
do	Rathava	Bhaga	12	24	22	986
5	Papayamuya	Śravaṇa	22	10	47	1033
do	Gardhaban	Aświnau	7	12	23	1056
6	Vāta	Punarvasu	7	0	13	1069
do	Vana	Ārdṛā	6	26	11	1080
7	Parikrosa	Rudra	6	0	24	1104
do	Maraya	Yama	2	23	22	1126

N. B.—verses 7 eclipses 11 total 188 Parvas

TABLE XI

Ṛgveda 1st Mandala Hymn No. XXX or 30

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Indra	Śhatabisha	24	—	—	118
do	Krivi	Waters	20	23	22	140
2	Samasira	Sravista	23	3	2	142
3	Samudra	Waters	20	24	22	164
4	Vachas	Bṛhaspati	8	15	1	165
5	Sūnṛta	Punarvasu	7	26	11	176
6	Sangramam	(Abhijit)	21	14	12	188
7	Indra	Jyeṣṭhā	18	24	46	234
8	Sravat	Aświnau	7	16	14	248
9	Pūrvam-pita	Prajāpati	4	24	22	270
10	Puruhūta	Indra	14	10	34	304
11	Siprin	Revati	27	13	12	316
12	Somapa	Ahīrbudhnya	26	26	24	340
13	Revati	Pūṣan	27	1	13	353
14	Stotra	Ahīrbudhnya	26	26	11	364
15	Śachi	Indra	14	15	1	365
16	Hiraṇyāratham	Sūrya	13	26	11	376
do	Sanitaram	Aryama	11	25	11	387
17	Saviraya	Maghā	10	26	11	398
do	Gomat etc	Bhaga	12	2	2	400
18	Aświnau	Puṣya	8	23	22	422
do	Samudra Rajasa	Antarikṣa	23	15	1	423
19	Nyaghnya	Sashwati	7	11	23	446
20	Uṣas	Punarvasu	7	0	24	470
21	Chitre-arushi	Rohini	4	24	22	492
22	Duhitar-diva	Punarvasu	7	3	2	494

N. B.—verses 22 eclipses 26 total 376 Parvas

TABLE XII

Sāmkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra account of Rohita's travels also represents an eclipse series.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
start	Hariśchandra's home	Mrigaśira	5	—	—	1021
travel	Forest	Rudra	6	1	13	1034
1st yr	Niṣād-dhara	Yama	2	23	22	1058
do	Indra	Chitrā	14	25	36	1092
2nd yr	Bhaga	Ut-Phalguni	12	13	11	1103
3rd yr	4 Padas	Proṣṭapadas	25	12	12	1115
4th yr	Papmanam	Sravishta	23	25	11	1126
5th yr	Madhu	Āśleṣā	9	13	36	1162
6th yr	Madhukara	Aświnau	8	26	11	1173
7th yr	Ajigartha	Sarpa	9	1	13	1186
8th yr	Sunahśepa	Ārdrā	6	24	22	1208

N. B.—The story of Ajigartha is an astronomical myth. The word Ajigartha means a serpent and indicates the asterism Āśleṣā—His eldest son Sunahpuchcha is Canis Major; the youngest Suno-lāngūla is Canis Minor. Between these lies Orion with Rohita (Rohiṇi) and Ārdrā (Sunahśepa). The addition of Ajigartha and Sunahśepa completes the eclipse cycle.

TABLE XIII

Aitareya account of Rohita's travel

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
start	Rohita's home	Mrigaśir	5	—	—	411
travel	Forest	Ārdrā	6	1	13	423
1st yr.	Nṛṣadvara	Aświnau	1	22	33	457
do	Indra	Chitrā	14	13	12	469
2nd yr.	Pāpmānam	Yama	2	15	1	470
3rd yr.	Bhaga	Bhaga	12	10	34	504
4th yr.	4 padas	Proṣṭha-pada	26	14	12	516
5th yr.	Madhuvindanti	Sūrya	9	10	47	563
6th yr.	Ajigarta	Sarpa	9	0	13	576
7th yr.	Sunahśepa	Ārdrā	6	24	22	598
			total		187	

TABLE XIV

Eclipse-series contained in the Ṛg-vedic version of the prayer of Śunahs'epa to the several gods (anukramaṇikā)

	Deity	N	D	P	Ec. no.
0	Aditi	7	—	—	365
1	Prajāpati	4	24	35	400
2	Agni	3	26	24	424
3	Savitar	13	10	10	434
4	Varuṇa	24	11	23	457
5	Agni	25	1	13	470
6	Viśwe-devas	21	24	22	492
7	Indra	24	3	2	494
8	Hariśchandra	20	23	22	516
9	Aświnau	7	14	12	528
10	Uṣas	7	0	24	552

N. B. :—Gods 11 eclipses 11 total 187 parvas.

TABLE XV

Eclipses of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa version of Śunahs'epa's prayer.

	Deity	N	D	P	Ec. no.
1	Prajāpati	4	—	—	400
2	Agni	3	26	24	424
3	Savitar	13	10	10	434
4	Varuṇa	24	11	23	457
5	Agni	25	1	13	470
6	Viśwe-devas	21	23	22	492
7	Indra	24	3	2	494
8	Sūrya	9	12	23	517
9	Aświnau	7	25	11	528
10	Uṣas	7	0	24	552
11	Hariś-chandra	5	25	35	587

N. B.—Gods 11 eclipses 11 total 187 parvas.

TABLE XVI

Rajasūya Sacrifice Mantras

Abhiṣeka Mantra				Ārohaṇa Mantra			
1	Savitar	13	1080	1	Agni	26	1396
2	Aświnau	1	1081	2	Savitar	13	1408
3	Pūṣan	27	1092	3	Soma	16	1410
4	Agni	26	1103	4	Bṛhaspati	26	1420
5	Sūrya	25	1127	5	Mitrāvaruṇa	11	1443
6	Indra	24	1151	6	Varuṇa	24	1455
7	Soma	20	1173	7	Indra	24	1492
8	Prajāpati	19	1197	8	Viśwedevas	21	1514
9	Bhūh	7	1198	9	Bhūh	7	1526
10	Bhuvah	17	1245	10	Bhuvah	17	1573
11	Svar	13	1267	11	Svar	17	1586

AHALYĀ KĀMADHENU OF KEŚAVADĀSA

(N. V. Athalye)

This enormous volume of 2085 leaves was purchased by this Prāchya Grantha Sangraha in March as a rare and unpublished MS. on Hindu Law and religion. Besides deciding the questions that arise on तिथि, वार, नक्षत्र, व्रत, ग्रहण, the 16 Samskāras etc. the author has quoted to their full extent all the Prayogas that are commonly required by the four वर्णस. It is thus a collection of all religious matters and is, therefore, very useful. The author is one Keśavadāsa who probably compiled it in the reign of Śrī Ahalyābāi Holkar—the famous ruler of Indore and therefore belongs to the 18th century. It is divided into eight chapters called Vātsas or calves of the all-supplying cow (कामधेनु) as under :—

1. तिथ्यादिब्रतनिर्णयवत्स	... 1208 leaves
2. दानवत्स	... 356 „
3. संस्कारवत्स	... 212 „
4. श्राद्धवत्स	... 67 „
5. गोत्रप्रवरवत्स	... 26 „
6. ग्रहवास्तुविधानवत्स	... 69 „
7. आरामाशयोत्सर्गवत्स	... 47 „
8. देवप्रतिष्ठावत्स	... 100 „ incomplete.
	<hr/> 2085

Each of these chapters has got a separate index sheet of the contents described and the MS. measures $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches in size. It is legibly written on old straw paper. The type of the letters is bold and appears to be scribed by more than one hand. Some of the leaves of this MS. are damaged by water and so it deserves to be carefully handled. The last folios of the देव-प्रतिष्ठावत्स are missing. The extracts given below are as per MS. The MS. breaks off at folio 100b of this वत्स after the following:—

भगवन्भूतभव्ये च लोकनाथ जगत्पते ॥ जीर्णलिंगसमुद्धारः कृतस्तवाज्ञया मया ॥
अज्ञानतो ज्ञानतो वा ययोक्तं न कृतं यदि ॥ तत्सर्वं पू × × × ×

The date of the scribe found at the end of the आरामाशयोत्सव वस्स is संवत् १८२८ मिति द्वितीये असाढ कृष्ण २ द्वितीयायं लिखित्वां ॥१॥. It is, therefore, 169 years old. The introductory leaves tell us that Keśavadāsa was one of the proteges of Śrī Ahalyābāi.

References to this MS. are found in Aufrecht's Cat. Catalogorum, Part 1, page 37^b and in Kane's History of Dharma-śāstra on page 511^b. Both the gentlemen quote the same MS. in Benares Skt. College (a Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of the Benares Skt. College. Published as a supplement to the Pandita Vol. III-IX Benares 1864-74). The former also refers to a Catalogue of Skt. MSS. in private Libraries of the North-West Provinces Parts I-X. Allahabad 1877-86. 8. There is MS. of the वास्तुविधानवस्स in Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Catalogue Vol. III, No. 2111. From these we can easily understand that a copy of this MS. is only available in the Benares Sanskrit College.

The author has accomplished double motive in choosing the title of the MS. as it yields all sorts of dictums collected for the justification of the religious and pious duties of the people and throws sufficient light on the merits of Ahalyābāi who was really like a heavenly cow and protector of Hindu religion, her subjects and learned Pandits. He is, therefore, right in giving this significant name to his work.

The author belonged to Kauśika Gotra and was a Sāmavedi Brahmin of the Parika caste. He was also a devotee of Lord Keśavagopāla. In commenting on the word मंगलानि in the beginning verse he has cleared this point of his being a सामवेदीः—मंगलो भूमिपुत्रश्चेत्याद्यत्र सामगानां कृपाकर इत्युक्तत्वादमास्कं सामगानां कृपाकरत्वान्मंगलस्य स्मरणमुचितमेव वयं सामगा इत्यत्र मंगलग्रहस्मरणं बोद्धव्यमेवमादौ ग्रंथारंभे स्वकीयकुलदैवतं श्रीमत्केशवगोपालं नमस्कृत्य पितरौ-गुरुंश्च नमस्कृत्य मंगलानि मंगलं स्मरामीति संस्मृत्यैवं पूर्वशिष्ट ग्रंथकाराचरितरीतिरिति मंगलावरणं कृत्वा तत्राथग्रंथावतारमाह ॥ (मंगलोभूमिपुत्रश्चसामगानां कृपाकरः । स्कं. पु. भार्गवप्रोक्त ऋणमोचन मंगलस्तोत्रात्).

The author has also got another name, सुशालीराम, and this he has mentioned in the introductory verses on folio 13, in the concluding verses of every वस्स and in the Colophons of which the following are worth notable :—

श्रीमत्केशवसप्रसादसुधियासच्छास्त्रवक्तापुरा
 भट्टः कौशिकगोत्रजन्मविदितः श्रीभास्कराख्योद्भूतः ॥
 तद्वंशेशुभशीलनिष्ठ सुतपा यो देवदत्ताभिध
 तज्जोजीवनराम नाम विदितो भट्टः सदाचारवित् ॥
 सम्यक्पुराणवक्तारौ तत्पुत्रौ प्राणवल्लभौ ॥
 खुशालीरामरायोऽहं लक्ष्मीनाथस्तथाऽपरः ॥
 खुशालीरामरायेण मयाऽयं क्रियते मुदा ॥
 अहल्याकामधेन्वाख्यः सद्ग्रन्थो निर्णयात्मकः ॥

- Fol. 238 a :— इतिश्रीपारीकजात्यवतंस श्रीमत्केशवदेवपौराणिककौशिक-गोत्र
 व्यासोपनाम विदित श्रीभास्करभट्टान्वय शुमणि हृषीकेश-
 भट्टसूनु जीवनरामात्मज खुशालीरामशर्मेति प्रसिद्धोपनाम
 केशवदास विरचितायां कामधेनौ प्रतिपत्तिथिनिर्णयो नाम वत्सः ॥
- „ 301 a :— इतिश्रीपारीक जात्यवतंस श्रीमत्केशवदेव पौराणिककौशिकगोत्र
 व्यासोपनाम विदित श्रीभास्करभट्टान्वयशुमणि हृषीकेशभट्ट-
 सूनु लक्ष्मीरामात्मज देवदत्त भट्टसूनु जीवनरामात्मज खुशाली-
 राम शर्मेति प्रसिद्धोपनाम केशवदास विरचितायां श्रीमत्यऽहल्या
 कामधेनौ तृतीया तिथिव्रतनिर्णयो नाम वत्सः ॥
- „ 208 a :— इतिश्रीपारीक विप्रजातीय प्रख्यात कौशिकगोत्रावतंस श्रीम-
 त्केशव देव पौराणिक व्यासोपनाम श्रीभास्करभट्टात्मज वासुदेवा-
 न्वय शुमणि हृषीकेशभट्ट वंशोद्भव देवदत्ततवय जीवनरामात्मज
 खुशालीराम रायोपनाम केशवदास विरचितायां अहल्याकाम-
 धेनौ तिथ्यादिव्रतनिर्णयवत्सः ॥

From these we know that the author was a descendant of Bhāskarabhaṭṭa who was also known as केशवदेवपौराणिक व्यास. व्यास is a common title of पुराण readers and is generally applied against their names. The same is clearly expressed by the author in the above given verses for he himself was a Puraṇika. वासुदेव who altogether disappears in the 1st 3 quotations, is quoted in the last colophon as the son of Bhāskara. In the same way लक्ष्मीराम (in colophon No. 2) is given as the son of हृषीकेश who is not mentioned in the verses. Colophon No. 3 omits देवदत्त. It can, therefore, be said that this must have been either done through oversight by the author or by the carelessness of the scribe. The genealogical table of the author can be formed upto the fifth generation from हृषीकेश thus :—

भास्करभट्टात्मज वासुदेवान्वयद्युमणी

हृषीकेश

लक्ष्मीराम

देवदत्त

जीवनराम

खुशालीराम

(केशवदास)

लक्ष्मीनाथ

Keśavadāsa does not mention his place of abode and time of compilation. But these are traceable. From the description of various rulers and ministers of the Holkar State, we can easily guess that he was a subject of this state and a protege of Śrī Ahalyābāi who mostly resided at महेश्वर on the banks of Narmadā, in Nimār District of the Holkar's Dominions. Ahalyābāi's residence of माहिष्मती (present Maheśwara), her worship of Rājarājeśwara (Śiva) and her offering of alms etc. are simultaneously jotted by the author in दानवत्स thus :—

रेवातीरोपकंठप्रबलगुणगणैः कार्तवीर्याधिपस्य

विल्यातायापुरासीत्तदनुसुजनता सत्कथालापमात्रा ॥

जाता माहिष्मती या भुवि पुनरधुना कालयोगाभिगुप्ता

सेयंख्यातात्यहल्याधिवसति विलसत्कर्मभिर्दृश्यते च ॥ ४ ॥

तीर्थ धारासहस्रं विलसति विमलं सर्वदाध्यानरम्यं

कृत्वा तत्राश्रयं वै वितरति सततं दानधारामसख्यां ॥

खंडेरावप्रियैषा क्षितिसुरशरणा श्रीपतीश्रीरहल्या ॥ ५ ॥

रेवातीर्याश्रया वै सुतपसि हृदया देवगोविप्रनाथा ॥

श्रीमंतं राजराजेश्वरमभिवरदं पूजयंतीत्यहल्या

लोकेत्यातिं गता सा न हि तदधिकतस्तत्समो नापि को वा ॥

यस्यादानांबुजातं सकलमिह शुभं नार्मदीया विशालं ॥ ६ ॥

The author has given the following reason that led him to compose this bulky work :—

“ ननु बहुषु मदनपारिजातमयूखनिर्णयसिंधुदिनकरद्योतादिषु ग्रंथेषु सत्सु सांप्रतमस्य ग्रंथस्य निबन्धकरणे च किमर्थमत्याग्रहः प्रयासश्चेदिति केचिद्वदित्यंतीति तत्राह ॥ पुरा यैराचार्यैः कविभिश्च स्वेन स्वेन नाम्ना तत्कालीनराज्ञां नाम्ना च ग्रंथा विरचितास्तथैव ते प्रकाशंते प्रयोजनं च द्योतयंति स्वकीयां कीर्तिं च प्रकाशयंतीति यावत् ॥ तथा पाराशरेण प्रोक्ता पाराशरीति । तथैव दिनकरभट्टशंकरभट्टनारायणभट्टकमलाकरभट्टनीलकंठभट्टअनंतभट्टादीनां नाम्ना दृश्यतामिति । तथा अल्लाडनाथसूरिकृतनिर्णयामृते सूर्यसेनमहेंद्रसेनविरचिते इत्यादिकं किं च बहुना ॥ तथा श्रीमतां राज्ञां विना विद्वज्जनाश्रयं विना केषामपि नाम न ज्ञायते । × × × तथा हि पुरातनकविराज्ञां च तथा वार्तासु दृष्टव्यं परंतु सांप्रतमपि तथैव हरिशंकरसूनुरावलगणपतिकृतिमुहूर्तगणपतिरपि च पौंडरीकयाजीदेवरामसुतरत्नाकरविरचितोजयसिंहकल्पद्रुमस्तु दृश्यतामेव । ममाप्येतद्ग्रंथनिबन्धे रुचिरजाता केनापि कामेन यजमानमनुस्मृत्य कुर्यामिति मानसविचारेण सांप्रतकालीना केपि गुणग्राहिणः अंगीकृतमनुपालकाश्चान्ये साक्षात् श्रीमंतः मल्लारिरावस्तुषाअहिल्याभिधा दत्तेनोद्दिष्टा तथा इयं गुणवती सद्धर्मपालनी च दयालुः सुज्ञा श्रीभगवद्धर्मपरायणा कुलदीपिका मूर्तिमती धर्मस्वरूपिणी धर्मशक्तिरिव दृष्टा अतो अस्या एव नाम्ना अयमेव ग्रंथः क्रियते ॥ शंका परिहारः ॥

The two works मुहूर्तगणपति and जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम referred to by the author in the above passage have been printed and bear the years of compilation as 1685 and 1713 A. D. respectively (भारतीय ज्यो. शा. page 474 ; Kane's His. of Dharma Śāstra pages 548 and 605). MS. Copies of both the works are also preserved in this Prācyā Grantha Sangraha, Ujjain. The difference of years in both the given dates is only 28. From these evidences we can reach to a judgment that Keśavadāsa's work was prepared sometime after the year 1713 A. D. and he, therefore, must have flourished during the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 18th century.

After the above given para, verses after verses follow, eulogising the Chattrapati Śāhū of Satara (1708-1748), Peśwā Bājirāo I (1720-40), Malhārārāo Holkar (1693-1765), his son Khanderāo (Died in 1754), and grandson Maloji (expired in 1765) and Tukoji Holkar I (passed away in 1797), Ahalyābāi (1765-1795) and the ministers at the Court of Holkar with their career in short. This description runs as far as the 13th folio of the MS. from whence the work as such begins. Before

beginning this praise the author says :—“अथात्र तत्रादौ ग्रंथवधना किमपि तस्त्वामीप्रभुकुलप्रशंसा । यथा दृष्टं तथैव युग्मेन ” and this appears to be derived from historical papers and facts.

From the accession year 1708 of Sāhū to the throne of Satara to the closing year 1797 of Tukoji Holkar we get a period of 90 years and this includes the time of Keśavadāsa. For Ahalyābāi took the reins of Government soon after the death of her father-in-law in 1766, May (सरदेसाई म. रि. मध्यवि. ३). Keśavadāsa might have seen the last days of Subedāra Malharāo as he was a Paurāṇika of the court but did not seem to begin the compilation of this work till Ahalyābāi rose to power as appears from the preceding para. The Samvat, Miti etc. of the scribe quoted in the beginning corresponds to A. D. 1771, Sunday the 28th of July. Moreover the author himself admits that he undertook the task of writing this work at the will of his Master-Ahalyābāi. It is, therefore, clear that Keśavadāsa must have prepared this MS. between the years 1766 and 1771 and it belongs to the 3rd quarter of the 18th century.

There are certain acts that are prohibited by law in the Kali age. The only verse attributed to पराशर is “अग्निहो गवालम्भं सन्यासं पलपैतृकम् ॥ देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिः कलौ पंच विवर्जयेत् ” but under कलिवर्ज्यानि in तिथि नि० वत्स Fol. 132 these appear in three verses mentioning several actions and seem to be framed and interpolated by the author himself.

“वर्ज्यं गोनरवाजिमेधकरणं मद्यं विवाहः पुन-
 र्व्यूढायाश्च कलौ कर्मण्डलुधृतिर्ब्रह्मव्रतं नैष्ठिकं ॥
 ज्येष्ठांशोद्धरणं वरातिथिसुराद्यर्थं यशोहिंसनं
 भानृच्छीषु नियोगतः सुतजनिस्तद्वद्वनस्थाश्रमः ॥
 स्तेयान्याधिकपापिशुद्धिरघसंकोचो गुणापेक्षया
 युद्धे द्यूत..... शस्त्र..... विप्रस्य शामित्रकं ॥
 विप्राणामघनिष्कृतिर्मरणयुक् संसर्गदोषो महा—
 प्रस्थानोपगमस्त्रहानशनिना मन्त्राहृतिर्हानतः ॥
 उद्वाहो जननीसर्पिण्डदुहितुदत्तैरसान्यात्मज—
 स्वीकारोप्यसवर्णजापरिणयः सामुद्रिकोपश्रुतिः
 स्वमादेश्च सुराग्रहस्य तु कृतिर्यज्ञे च सौत्रामणौ ॥ ”

A clear definition of the word संस्कार with its meaning in different senses and formation is also found given on the eve of the संस्कारवत्स thus :—तत्रादौ संस्कारप्रशंसा ॥

संस्क्रियते पवित्रीक्रियते वेदोक्तादिकर्मणा गर्भादिरिति संस्कारः ॥ तथा च ॥ वा संस्क्रियते भूप्यते अनेन श्रौतेन स्मार्तेन वा कर्मणा पुरुष इति संस्कारः ॥ अत्र आदौ रजोदर्शनशांत्यादिना गर्भाधानादिप्रभृतिप्रेताग्निसंग्रहोत्तरं क्रियांतं श्रौत-स्मार्तकर्मणा संस्क्रियते भूप्यते पवित्रीक्रियते शुद्धीक्रियते इति, संस्क्रियते इत्यत्र सुदप्रत्ययेन संस्करणं भूषणकरणं शोधनं शुद्धीकरणं पवित्रीकरणं संस्कारशब्दे भूषणमेवेति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ यथा संस्कारशब्दसाधनं कृतं ॥ संस्क्रियते अनेनेति वाक्ये ॥ संज्ञायामकर्तरि चेति घञ् प्रत्ययः ॥ ततो विभक्तिलोपे कृते ॥ संपर्युपेभ्यः करोते-भूपणे सुद् इति सुद् प्रत्ययः ॥ अन्यत्सुगमं ॥ संस्कारः इति सिद्धं ॥ अथवा चाद्यव्ययनिपातगणेऽपि दर्शयति । यथा अनुष्ठानं । अनुवाक् । संस्कृतः । संस्करोति । संस्करणं । संस्कारः । चमत्करोति । चमत्कारः । श्रुत इति आस्तिक्य शुद्धौ । श्रद्धाति । संस् इति भूषणार्थे शुद्धौ पवित्रार्थे इति यावत् । संस्करोति । संस्कारः । इत्यादि वामनपाणिनि-अनुभूतिस्वरूपाचार्यैः स्पष्टीकृतं । तत्र संस्क्रियते अनेनेति स्वीयस्वीयजातौ सामान्यविशेषविहितस्मार्तकर्मानुष्ठानद्वारा दृष्टविशेष विधायक इति यावत् ॥ लक्षणया तदर्थोक्तदिनशुद्ध्यादिकं संस्कारशब्दे-नोच्यते.....

The following is a list of authorities cited in the MS. on the basis of which this work is framed :—

श्रीमद्भागवत-महाभारत, वाराह, वायु, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, मत्स्य, देवीब्रह्मवैवर्त, बृहन्नारदीय, काली, भविष्योत्तर-स्कंद आदित्य, वह्नि-गरुड-नन्दिकर्म-ब्रह्मांड-नृसिंह-भविष्य-लिंग-सौर-वामन-विष्णु-ब्रह्म-मार्कण्डेय-शिव-शारदापुराणानि ।

शातातप-जाबालि-भृगु-शंख-मरीचि-हारीत-प्रजापति-याज्ञवल्क्य-दक्ष-अरुण-विष्णु, वसिष्ठ-गालव-वृहस्पति-देवल-आपस्तंब-अगस्त्य-वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य-पराशर-गौतम-शौनक-मनु-पैठीनस-अंगिरास्मृतयः ।

अमरकोश, ब्रह्मसिद्धांत, मुहूर्तगणपति, रत्नमाला, त्रिकांडमंडन, मदनरत्न, काठकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट, गृह्यसूत्र, ज्योतिर्मंडन, वसिष्ठसिद्धांत, निर्णयामृत, सिद्धांत-शिरोमणि, बार्हस्पत्यज्योतिषग्रंथ, ज्योतिषशास्त्रसार, स्मृतिसंग्रह, निर्णयानंद, संवत्सर-प्रदीप, वृद्धवसिष्ठ, स्मृतिचंद्रिका, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, कालादर्श, श्राद्धदीपिका, नागरखंड, मार्तण्डदीपिका, अपरार्क, ज्योतिर्वसिष्ठ, स्मृतिकौस्तुभ, शिवरहस्य, अद्भुतसागर, ज्योतिःप्रकाश, जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम, निर्णयसिंधु, तिथिचंद्रोदय, निरुक्त, प्रह्लादसंहिता, पृथ्वीचंद्रोदय, व्रतप्रकाशिका, ब्रह्मयामल, वीरमित्रोदय, छांदोग्यपरिशिष्ट, गणेश-

संहिता, तिथिनिर्णयसार, रामकौतुक, भार्गवदीपिका, निर्णयदीप, कालनिर्णयसंग्रह, टोडरानंद, भूपालवल्लभ, कृत्यरत्नावली, रुद्रयामलनिबंध, धवलनिबंध, डामरतंत्र, शिवार्चनचंद्रिका, कपिलपंचरात्र, शारदातिलकटीका, रामपूर्वोत्तरतापिनी, नृसिंहपूर्वोत्तरतापिनी, ऋग्वेदसंहिता, सौंदर्यलहरीटीका (लक्ष्मीधर), दुर्गास्तोत्र, गोविंदार्णव, हयशीर्षपंचरात्र, दुर्गाभक्तिरंगिणी, मंत्रराजानुष्टुभिविधान, वाराहीतंत्र, मत्स्यसूक्त, विकृतिरहस्य, तिथितत्त्व, धर्मप्रदीप, नारदपंचरात्र, तत्त्वसागरसंहिता, कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव, कालतत्त्वविवेचन, लक्ष्मीतंत्र, अश्वशास्त्र (शालिहोत्र), राजमार्ग, जानकीरहस्य, हनुमत्संहिता, विधानरहस्य, रत्नकोश, पुराणसमुच्चय, वसंतराघवचरित, पृथ्वीरहस्य, राजराजेश्वरमहोदय, तिथ्यर्क, ब्रह्मसंहिता, संवत्सरकृत्य, धर्मचंद्रोदय, कर्मपीयूष, विष्णुरहस्य, रामार्चनचंद्रिका, अंबिकार्चनचंद्रिका, भार्गवार्चनचंद्रिका, विश्वकर्माशास्त्र, गौरीकल्प, कालिकार्चनचंद्रिका, चमत्कारचिंतामणि, शिवधर्मोत्तर, बृहस्पतिसंहिता, जयहारिकल्पद्रुम, हरिभक्तिविलास, सनत्कुमारसंहिता, विष्णुयामल, मथुरासेतु, देवीपरिचर्या, श्रीक्रमसंहिता, देवीकृत्य, नृसिंहपरिचर्या, ऐतरेयब्राह्मण, भक्तिचंद्रोदय, विष्णुसंहिता, श्राद्धप्रदीप, संहिता, बह्वचकारिका, ज्योतिषयोगसागर, पितृसंहिता, आचारप्रदीप, तैत्तिरीयश्रुति, विष्णुप्रकाशिका, दानमयूख, दानोद्योत, मृत्युंजय, कृत्यकल्पतरु, सुहृत्कर्ममणिदीपिका, दैवज्ञमनोहर, दैवज्ञवल्लभ, शूद्रकमलाकर, सुहृत्संग्रह, कारिकाविमर्श, स्मृतिरत्नावलि, कृष्णभट्टी, कर्मविपाक, महार्णव (मंत्र ?), अनंतभट्टी, मांडूक्यव्यवहारतत्त्व, रेणुकाकारिका, गोत्रप्रवरमंजरी, चतुर्विंशतिमुनिमतव्याख्या, सुहृत्कल्पद्रुम, उत्सर्गमयूख, विधानमाला, माधवहेमाद्रि, गर्ग, सल्ल, दिवोदासी, सुमंतु, गोभिल, कात्यायन, ऋष्यशृंग, देवस्वामी, चरक, बौधायन, भट्टोजिदीक्षित, कण्व, प्रचेता, आर्यभट्ट, जीमूतवाहन, विश्वेश्वर, जयंत, सुदर्शन, सत्याषाढ, जातकर्म, चंडेश्वर and श्रीपति.

It is thus based on all the possible Dharma, Purāṇa, Mantra, Jyotiṣa and other granthas available at his day and the same given on Fol. 13 thus :—

आलोक्य धर्मशास्त्राणि सारमुद्धृत्य तेषु च ॥ २१ ॥

वचनानि सतां चैव सुमान्यानि मनीषिणां ।

ग्रंथेऽस्मिन्स्तानि लिख्यंते कामधेनु सुसंज्ञिके ॥ २२ ॥

इतिग्रंथनिर्माणस्वरूपं ॥

It is, therefore, a quite modern one and shall prove of much use, if published, to the readers of Dharma Śāstra.

INDIAN CHARITY

(Ram Keshav Ranade)

In the words of Grant M. R. in *Morice vs. Bishop of Durham*, the word charity "in its widest sense denotes all the good affections men ought to bear towards each other ; in its most restricted and common sense, relief of the poor. In neither of these senses it is employed in this Court. Here its significance is chiefly derived from the statute of Elizabeth. Those purposes are charitable which the statute enumerates, or which by analogies are deemed within its spirit and intendment and to some such purpose every bequest to charity shall be applied". In the preamble to the statute of Elizabeth the charitable objects are enumerated as follows :— "The relief of aged, impotent, and poor people; the maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and mariners, schools of learning, free schools, and scholars in universities ; the repair of bridges, ports, havens, causeways, churches, sea-banks, and highways ; the education and preferment of orphans ; relief stock or maintenance for houses of correction ; marriages of poor maids ; supportation, aid and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and persons decayed ; the relief or redemption of prisoners or captives ; and the aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payment of fifteens, setting out of soldiers, and other taxes".

It is strongly and vehemently criticised by the foreigners and even by some educated Indians that Indian charity (By Indian charity I mean charity as we find in our ancient works.)—can't stand comparison with these noble ideas of charity, and that the ancient works of the Hindus do not attach due importance to charity. On a perusal of our ancient works, it will be really exceedingly interesting to see whether this criticism is in any way warranted.

Importance of Charity

R̥gveda

"He who gives charity goes to the highest place in Heaven."
(R̥gveda I. 125-5-6).

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers in the same breath to the practice of self-restraint (‘Dama’), Charity (Dāna) and compassion (Dayā)—(Hemādri Dāna Khāṇḍa p. 6).

Bṛhaspati

Bṛhaspati says :— In the Kṛta Yuga, the main virtue is declared to be austerity ; in the Treta, knowledge ; in the Dvāpara, sacrifices, and in the Kali, Charity, Compassion and self-restraint.—(Hemādri Dāna Khāṇḍa p. 6).

Manu

Manu goes a step further and declares that charity alone is the prevailing virtue in the Kali age. He says—“In the Kṛta Yuga, the supreme virtue is declared to be austerity ; in the Treta, knowledge ; in the Dvāpara, sacrifices ; and in the Kali age, Charity alone.”—(Manu - 1-86).

Gautama

Gautama in his Institutes (XIX-11) refers to charity as the means of expiating sins,.

Yama

Yama (Yama 5) declares charity to be supreme virtue to be practised by the house-holders.

Many other passages bearing on charity can be quoted. The passages quoted above, are more than sufficient to negative the contention that our ancient works do not attach due importance to charity - these passages will go to show that no one can surpass our ancient authors in extolling the virtue of charity.

Those who strongly criticize that Indian charity is the worst form of charity, should, before levelling this unwarranted criticism, note the following forms of charity as given by our ancient authors.

Various Forms of Indian Charity

According to the sacred writings of the Hindus, all pious works are divided into two classes :— (i) Iṣṭa and (ii) Pūrta. Iṣṭa denotes and refers to sacrifice, while Pūrta means and includes charity.

From the ancient texts some of the principal pūrta works may be enumerated as follows :—

- (i) Construction of Temples for Gods.
- (ii) Construction of wells, tanks, etc.
- (iii) Gift of food.
- (iv) The relief of the sick.
- (v) Gift for promoting knowledge.
- (vi) Planting of trees.

Construction of Temples for Gods, etc.

The principal Vedic Deities are three — Agni, Indra, and Sūrya. Afterwards the number of Vedic gods was increased to thirty-three and thereafter it was increased million-fold. The form of charity which is highly spoken of by our sacred writings is the erection of temples for gods. The following passage from Narasimha Purāṇa merits special mention—"Whoever thinks of the idea of erecting a temple that very day his carnal sins are destroyed; what, then, to speak of completing the temple according to rule! The religious merit acquired by a person who makes an abode of Viṣṇu consisting of eight bricks is beyond description. The merits coming from mighty buildings increase in proportion. He who dies on putting the first brick for erecting a temple gets the religious merit of a full and complete Yajña." (Quoted in Haribhakti Vilāsa p. 694).

There are various rules with regard to the sites whereon the temples are to be built, but the following rule may be noted :

"That site is auspicious to the builder whose heart is delighted therein" (Bṛhat Saṁhitā Adhyāya-53 Śloka, 95.)

II. Construction of Wells, Tanks etc.

The second form of charity as given by our ancient writers consists in the construction of reservoirs of water such as Wells, Tanks, etc. Wells are divided into two classes :—Vāpī and Kūpa. Vāpī is a well supplied with a flight of stairs; while Kūpa is a well without a flight of stairs.

There are several passages declaring the merit accruing from the construction of such charitable works. We may note the following passage:

"He who constructs a well in a place devoid of water, goes to heaven for hundred years for every drop of water contained therein. He is just like a god as he is free from hunger and thirst (Nandi Purāṇa-quoted in Hemādri Dāna Khaṇḍa, Adh. 13, p. 100)

III. Gift of food

It is sometimes argued that this form of charity is specially invented for the aggrandisement of the Brahmins, but this criticism is unfair as we see that our ancient writers laid down minute directions as to the class of persons on whom the gift are to be bestowed.

Yājñavalkya says "A gift should not be accepted by one who is without learning and religious austerities." (Yājñavalkya 1-502.)

A Brahmin is also enjoined on his own part to give gifts of food and do other works of charity. The duties of a Brahmin given by Manu (Manu 1-88) are of reading the Vedas and teaching them; of performing sacrifices and of helping others to perform sacrifices; of giving charity (if they are rich) and of receiving charity (if they are poor).

It is also to be noted that the gifts of food are not restricted to the Brahmins but are to be bestowed on poor persons.

IV. The relief of the sick

Śaṅkha says that the service of the sick is declared to be a form of Pūrta (Hemādri Dāna Khaṇḍa p. 20).

In the 13th chapter of Hemādri Dānakhaṇḍa, we get various texts wherefrom it seems that the institution of dispensaries and hospitals (for the relief of persons of all castes under the management of physicians) was regarded as a very great form of charity by our ancient writers. Those who vehemently criticise that the Indian charity is the worst form of charity compared with the charity of other nations should do well to note that it includes hospitals and dispensaries for the relief of the sick as a form of charity.

V. Gift of promoting knowledge

In an Upaniṣad of Sāmaveda (quoted in Hemādri—Dānakhaṇḍa p. 19) the gifts bestowed on learning are declared to be "Atidāna"—the supreme form of charity.

From Hemādri Dānakhaṇḍa pp. 558 and 559 we see that helps to students in the form of books and writing materials, food, clothing and instruments, land, house furniture, or fields, in fact, the gift of everything that contributes to the students' maintenance and well-being, or is necessary for the acquisition of the special branch of learning that they study, is productive of great religious merit to the donor who is to reap the heavenly fruits of his charities in the next world. (Vide Pandit Saraswati-Endowments p. 28.)

VI. Planting of Trees

The critics of Indian charity would be taken aback to see that our ancient writers realised the importance of Tree planting and regarded it as a form of charity. The following passages may be noted :

Skanda-Purāṇa—"He who plants by the roadside a tree producing shade, flowers, and fruits makes his ancestors in heaven free from sin." (Hemādri Adh. 73, p. 1033.)

Mahābhārata—"The tree planting is productive of religious merit in the next world. The tree planter gets the salvation of his deceased ancestors as also of the descendants. A man should, therefore, plant trees." (Hemādri p. 1030.)

Viṣṇu—"The trees gladden the gods by blossoms ; guests by fruits ; travellers by shade ; men with water and the planter by happiness." (Viṣṇu - 5-8.)

A special grouping of plants as given in various ancient texts is declared to yield special religious merits :—

In the Mahābhārata, the special grouping consists of the following trees - (i) Aśvattha (ii) Nim (iii) Vāṭa (iv) Tamarind (v) Kapittha (vi) Bilva and (vii) Āmalakī-tree. Another version gives the following grouping : (i) Aśvattha (ii) Nim (iii) Campaka (iv) Kesara (v) Palm and (vi) Coconut trees. (Hemādri, p. 1032.)

In the Varāha Purāṇa the following grouping is given : (i) Aśvattha (ii) Nim (iii) Vāṭa (iv) Jati (v) Pomegranate and (vi) Sweet lime trees. (Quoted in Prāṇa Toṣṇī, p. 387.)

In the Skanda Purāṇa the following grouping is mentioned—
(i) Aśvattha (ii) Bilva (iii) Vāṭa (iv) Dhātṛī and (v) Aśoka trees.
(Vide Pandit Saraswati. p. 839.)

Experiments may be made by those who are interested in tree-planting to see as to whether such kinds of special grouping of plants is more effective.

Conclusion

Those who despise and deride Indian charity and regard themselves highly blessed by extolling charities of other nations should note that Indian charity does not mean or connote giving alms to idle beggars or over-feeding worthless Brahmins, but it includes among its various forms, relief to the sick, construction of reservoirs of water, gifts for promoting learning and treeplanting—forms which are really unknown to the critics. Regard being had to the above forms of Indian charity, which are only illustrative and not exhaustive, it will appear that Indian charity in its widest sense denotes all the good affections men ought to bear towards each other and in its most restricted and common sense relief to the poor. It may, therefore, safely be said that Indian charity is by far superior to that form of charity which is evolved from the statute of Elizabeth and from the various objects mentioned therein, and it can well stand comparison to the charity of any other nation in the world.

SIMILAR SOCIAL AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA AND IN ANCIENT MEXICO

(Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, University Krako'w Lwo'w (Poland))

A great number and variety of theories have been advanced to account for the presence of man in the New World.

For some years after its discovery, it was the generally accepted belief that the pre-Columbian were descended from survivors of the deluge; later that they were migrants from Atlantis or Lemuria, when these mythical continents were submerged beneath the waves of the Atlantic. Lord Kingsborough expended an immense amount of ingenuity and incidentally a fortune in endeavouring to prove, in eight huge volumes, that America had been peopled by descendants of the coast tribes of the House of Israel.

Lastly, soon after Darwin's revolutionary theory of evolution had been generally accepted, it was suggested that man had been independently evolved on the American continent from some pre-existing ape stock. Unfortunately for this theory there are no traces in the New World of the existence, at any period, of any of the great anthropoids and even if there were, it is by no means certain that an animal resembling *homo sapiens* of the Old World would have been evolved from them.

It is now generally accepted by archæologists, that man reached America by way of the Behring straits and Aleutian Islands, possibly by means of a bridge of land, coming from north-east Asia. These immigrants were roughly of two types, the long heads and short heads, though the latter do not conform cranially to the historic Mongol type, and either there was a considerable infusion of European blood in the peoples of North-East Asia, or else a migration of Europeans took place at a later date, who interbred with the earlier Mongolian immigrants. Some archæologists believe that there were successive migrations of Polynesians and Malenesians into South-America at a very early date. They admit that the new arrivals followed each other in waves over a considerable period, the first comers.

being pushed down the continent by later tribes, till the whole country from Alaska to Patagonia had been populated.¹

Many authors have tried to prove that the first settler in America came from India. But we have no proofs of this theory. Unfortunately the last attempt at proving this by Chaman Lal² too, from a scientific point of view, leaves much to be desired.

Perhaps a study of comparative law concerning the social and legal institutions of these two countries could throw some light on the problem of the influence of Ancient Indian civilisation upon the civilisation of Ancient Mexico.

From the point of view of sociology an objection could be made, that not only in Ancient Mexico and in Ancient India but in other countries too, the same social and legal institutions are known. This objection would not be without foundation but the more examples of similar social and legal institutions we find in two countries the more likely it is, that a common origin of civilisation in these two countries existed.

I have tried to show a clear resemblance between the Early and Ancient Indian terracottas especially the Buxar-terracottas and the masterpieces of the Ancient Indian Art,³ but I know that this last piece of evidence, like so many other kinds of evidence, is not sufficient from the point of view of science, for a statement that an influence existed between the civilisations of the Ancient Indian and the Ancient Mexican peoples. Even the anthropological researches can give us proofs of the common origin of races, but not of the common origin of civilisations. But the same life in the two countries, the same customs, the same moral rules, the same legal rules, the same thoughts, can give us the best proof of the common origin of civilisation of two countries. If we know the source of the life, of the customs, of the moral and legal rules, of the thoughts etc., if we know where they both arose out,—we have a proof of a common origin of their civilisations.

In this case we do not know the source of the origin of the life, of the customs, of the moral and legal rules, of the thoughts

1. Spinden : *Ancient Civilisation of Mexico and Central America*.

2. Chaman Lal : *Hindu America*, Bombay, 1940.

3. Archaic and Sternbach : *Early and Ancient Indian Terracottas*, Bombay, 1941.

etc. in Mexico and we do not know where they originated but the showing discovery of some similar social and legal institutions which could throw some light on the life, customs, moral and legal rules, thoughts etc. of Ancient India and Ancient Mexico can be a source for scholars who will prove a common influence in both civilisations.

I will give some examples for legal and social institutions identical, or similar in Ancient India and in Ancient Mexico. They are generally examples of the law of marriage.

(I) It may be noted that the system of marriage is the same in Ancient Mexico, as well as in Ancient India. This was polygamy, but not a true polygamy. It was more both in Ancient India and in Ancient Mexico the system of polygyny.

Polygyny as a sort of concubinage hardly distinguishable from genuine polygyny is found according to Clavigero¹ among the Ancient Mexicans, and according to Bancroft² among the Mayas, Chibchas and Peruvians, although it was probably practised mainly by the rich. In this system the first wife took precedence to the subsequent wives, or they had only one 'true and lawful wife' though as many less legitimate wives or concubines as they like. According to Bancroft³ in Mexico at least neither the wives of 'second rank' nor their children could inherit property.

We see here a good example of polygyny. According to the Ancient Indian Law-books, as a rule, the system of polygamy existed, but in reality it existed as the system of polygyny, because of the caste system. Polygamy is in evidence already in the Vedas.⁴ But the heroes of the Mahābhārata⁵ have usually many wives, but there is also a real or chief wife the *Mahishi* (महिषी) mentioned even in the Vedas, and in the inscriptions too frequently one single wife is ascribed to the princes. Even in the case of the Brahmans of the Mahābhārata, although they

1. History of Mexico, p. 322, Vol. I.

2. Native Races of the Pacific States of North America, II-671.

3. II. p. 265.

4. Vide Zimmer : Altindisches Leben, p. 324, Kaegi ; Der Rgveda, p. 22, Delbrueck : Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen, p. 540.

5. Vide Hopkins : Ruling Caste, p. 352, Holtzman : Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata, p. 22.

have several wives, the Brāhmaṇi appears to be the proper and the legitimate wife, the *Dharmapatnī* (धर्मपत्नी). Generally a man should at first marry a woman of his own caste¹ and only afterwards does he take wives from the lower classes in the order of the *Varṇas*, so that only Śūdra is restricted to a single wife of his own caste.² Four, three and two wives are allowed to Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively, but excluding the Śūdrā we have only three wives for Brahmins, two for Kṣatriyas etc.³ Of these only the wife of one's own caste is the *Dharmapatnī* and the others are regarded as wives of lower grade or concubines⁴ and for this reason their children too are at a disadvantage in the law of inheritance.⁵ Although the basis for this disadvantage of some wives and of children born from these wives of lower grade, is different in Ancient India and in Ancient Mexico, we see here and there the same law-system and the same consequences deriving from the same law-system.

In this connection it must be pointed out that according to Bancroft⁶ the custom of levirate was known to the Mosquito Indians, Aztecs and Mayas. The levirate was well-known in India too. In case the widow (or sometimes a wife from a fruitless husband) had no sons by her legal husband, the appointment (niyoga) to raise a son through a brother or another blood relation could be given and so the levirate was recommended. We find the levirate in all the Ancient Indian Law-books⁷ and we find even a kind of niyoga in Ṛgveda⁸ and the epics. If we

1. Mn. III-12, Yama. (Vīra-Saṁskara, p. 747.)

2. Mn. III-12, B. I-8-16-2-5, Vi. XXIV-1-4, Y. I-57, Vas. I-24-25 Par-Grh. I-4, 8-11, Yama (Vīra-Saṁskara, p. 748.) Paiṭhinasi (Vīra-Saṁskara, p. 748.) Nārada (Vīra-Saṁskara, p. 748.)

3. Vide note 10.

4. Vide J. Jolly-Recht und Sitte, par. 19.

5. Vi. XVIII., Mn. IX-149, 151-153, Vas. XVII-47-50, Y. II-125 B. II-2-3-10.

6. Native Races of the Pacific States of North America, I-730, II-466 671, Post : Geschlechtsgenossenschaft, p. 25, Post : Bausteine fuer allgemeine Rechtswissenschaft etc.

7. Mn. IX-5, etc., Y. I-68, 69, Nar. XII-80, G. XVIII-4-5 XXVIII-22, 23, Vas. XVII-56, Ap. II-27, 2-4, Brh. XXV-12-14, B. II-4 9-10, Yama and Kātyāyana, (Vivādarātnakara, p. 440.)

8. X-40, 2.

admit, according to some sociologists, that the levirate is a survival of polyandry¹ we can come back to those times when the polyandry was known in Ancient India and in Ancient Mexico. We can find traces and relics of sexual promiscuity, matriarchy, polyandry and allied institutions in the Ancient literature of India and in the indirect sources of Ancient Mexico. The best example of polyandry in Ancient India is the marriage of Draupadī with five Pāṇḍava-brothers in the Mahābhārata. According to Vasiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra² which law-source refers to the Vedas 'If amongst many brothers who are begotten by one father, one have a son, they all have offspring through that son.' We see the same in Viṣṇu-Smṛti,³ Mānava-Dharmaśāstra,⁴ Bṛhaspati-Smṛti,⁵ Kālikāpurāṇa,⁶ and Bṛhatparāśara.⁷ These sentences may refer to group marriage *i. e.* to the polyandry system. We find mentions about the group-marriage also in the Bṛhaspati-Smṛti⁸ and in the Āpastamba-Dharmaśāstra.⁹ So we can see as in the Ancient Indian social institutions, so in the Ancient Mexican social institutions the same development of the marriage *i. e.* polyandry and polygyny (possible through polygamy, which last institution is well developed in the Ancient Indian Law-books).

(II) As is the case with the Ancient Indian marriage, the Ancient Mexican marriage was also an exogamic marriage. Exogamy consists in a prohibition marrying inside a larger group than one consisting of members of the same family, particularly a clan. It was forbidden to the members of a particular group to marry any other member of it. For that reason the legislator introducing this institution was obliged to prohibit the marriage of a person who is related by blood, or of the same kin to the other. In Banroft's work¹⁰ we may find that among the Aztecs marriages between blood-relations or those descended from a common ancestor were not allowed. In Mānava-Dharmaśāstra¹¹ we find a sentence : असपिण्डा च या सातुरसगोत्रा च

1. Westermarck : The History of Human Marriage, II-208, Post : Bausteine fuer eine Allgemeine Rechtswissenschaft, II-96.

2. Vas. XVII-10.

3. Vi. XV-42.

4. Mn. IX. 182.

5. Brh. XXV-90.

6. Vira-Saṁskara, p. 212.

7. Vira-Saṁskara, p. 213.

8. Bṛh. XXVII-20.

9. Ap. II-27, 2 ff.

10. II-251.

11. Mn. III-5.

या पितुः । सा प्रशस्ता द्विजातीनां दारकर्मणि मैथुने ॥ i. e. ' A damsel who is neither a Sapiṇḍa on the mother's side nor belongs to the same family on the father's side is recommended to the Dviya (twice born) men for wedlock and conjugal union.' We see here that the parties ought not to be related by the relationship named Sapiṇḍa and Sagotra असपिण्डा, असगोत्रा i. e. to the seventh step of relationship on the father's side and to the fifth step of relationship on the mother's side. According to Gautama-Dharmaśāstra¹ marriage should be performed with persons not belonging to the same 'Pravara',² above the seventh grade among his paternal relations; also beyond of the same seed; and above the fifth grade among maternal relations. The same grade of relationship prohibited for marriage between the parties we find in Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra,³ Vasiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra,⁴ Viṣṇu-Smṛti,⁵ Laghu-Śātātapa,⁶ Sumanta,⁷ Devala,⁸ Pāraskara,⁹ Hārīta,¹⁰ Śaṅkha,¹¹ Paiṭhīnasi,¹² etc. Some of the Ancient Indian Dharmaśāstras declare laconically only that the man should marry a girl who has no common Ṛṣi as her ancestor and who does not belong to the same Gotra, for example: Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra,¹³ Vasiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra,¹⁴ Viṣṇu Smṛti,¹⁵ Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra,¹⁶ Śātātapa,¹⁷ Baudhāyana-Dharmaśāstra,¹⁸ Sumanta,¹⁹ Vyāsa,²⁰ Kāthaka-Gṛhyasūtra,²¹ Kātyāyana,²² Nārada-Dharmaśāstra,²³ Śaṅkha.²⁴ In this laconic rule we see very well the idea of the law-giver i. e. the exogamy ('who does not belong to the

1. G. IV. 2-5.

2. Vide: Bhaṣya's explanation to Mn. III-5 and Vi. XXIV-9-11 Śātātapa, 2, (Vira-Saṁh., p. 683 and 590), Sumanta, (Vira-Saṁh., p. 683) Kāthaka-Gṛhyasūtra, (Vira-Saṁh., p. 683.), Kātyāyana, (Vira-Saṁh., 684) Paiṭhīnasi (Vira-Saṁh., 703), Nārada-Dharmaśāstra (Vira-Saṁh., 407), Śaṅkha (Vira-Saṁh., p. 704) etc.

3. Y. I-53.

4. Vas. VIII-1-2.

5. Vi. XXIV-9-10.

6. Laghu-Śātātapa, 37.

7. Sumanta (Vira-Saṁh., p. 72).

8. Vira-Saṁh., p. 703.

9. Vira-Saṁh., 702.

10. Vira-Saṁh., p. 704.

11. Vira-Saṁh., 704.

12. Vira-Saṁh., p. 704.

13. Y-I-53.

14. Vas. VIII-1-2.

15. Vi. XXIX-9-10.

16. III. 4, 4, 5.

17. Vira-Saṁh., p. 590.

18. Vira-Saṁh., p. 590.

19. Vira-Saṁh., p. 683.

20. Vira-Saṁh., 683.

21. Vira-Saṁh., p. 683.

22. Vira-Saṁh., p. 684.

23. Vira-Saṁh., 407.

24. Vira-Saṁh., 704.

same gotra'). Such an exogamy we find in Ancient Mexico.¹² But this exogamy was in Ancient India only in the Gotras i. e. in one family, but the marriage was endogamic in the orbit of some castes. Although the rule did not approve of the intercaste marriages,³ yet the Brahman was permitted in the Dharmaśāstra, to take as wife a woman from Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya caste, a Kṣatriya could marry a woman from a Kṣatriya and Vaiśya caste and so on., but it was not allowed for a Dviija,³ to marry a woman of the lowest caste i. e. of the Śūdra caste.⁴ In this purpose the marriage was absolutely endogamic. If the Brahman has intercourse with a Śūdrā and begets a child on her he loses the Brāhmaṇa-hood.⁵ Atri became degraded by leading a Śūdrā girl to the altar; Utathya became degraded by begetting a son on the Śūdrā; Śaunaka became a Śūdra by having a grandson born from a Śūdrā; similarly Bhṛgu and others became degraded.⁶ In other words a Brahman who married a Śūdrā lost caste and lowered himself to the condition of a Śūdra.⁷ We find the same in the case of the American Indians. Bancroft⁸ shows that among the American Indians marriage with a slave reduced the free man to a slave's condition. By this illustration we see that the marriage was unconditionally exogamic as regards the marriage between a free man and a slave, or in other words that the marriage between a free man and a slave was prohibited; he who acted against this prohibition was punished by loss of his liberty. In Ancient India a Śūdrā was like a slave, and according to Mānava-Dharmaśāstra and other Law-sources a marriage between a free man i. e. a Dviija and a 'slave' i. e. a Śūdrā-girl was absolutely exogamic, or in other words a marriage between a Dviija especially between a Brahman and a Śūdrā-girl was prohibited;⁹ a Dviija who acted

1. Bancroft : II-251. 2. Mn. III-12, Yama, (Vīra-Saṁ., p. 747).

3. i. e. member of the Brahma or Kṣatriya or Vaiśya caste.

4. Mn. III-15, Y. 1-56, Vi. XXVI-26, Vas. I-27, Brahma-Purāṇa etc.

5. Yama (Vīra-Saṁ., p. 750). 6. Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa.

7. Hārīta Vīra-Saṁ., p. 750, 751, MBh. Āśvamedhikā-Parāśarmādhava p. 495, Anuśana-Parāśaramādhava, p. 496 etc.

8. Bancroft : II-659.

9. This prohibition was not unconditional, because according to some other Law-books this marriage was allowed. We find a very clear rule as regards this purpose in Uśanas-Dharmaśāstra where we read : "There may

against this prohibition has lost his caste and become a Śūdra that was the punishment for him.

Although this rule is very strange and special we find it both in Ancient India and among the American Indians.

But it is not the only legal institution i. e. concerning the law of marriage which is similar in these two countries. We find other similar institutions.

(III) According to Clavigero¹ in Ancient Mexico when a young man became between twenty and twenty-two years of age a wife was singled out for him. For girls the customary marriage age was from eleven. We see here that in Ancient Mexico the marriage age for the boy and the girl was exactly established. In Ancient India too, the marriage age for the boy and the girl was exactly established, but we find there orders concerning relative ages for boys and girls. Generally a girl who is seven years old can be married.² Such a girl is called Śaiśavī.³ But the suitable marriage age for a girl is ten years and for a boy twenty-one years.⁴ According to Mānava-Dharmaśāstra one who is thirty shall take a wife twelve years old,⁵ a man twenty-four years old shall take a wife eight years old;⁶ according to the Mahābhārata a man thirty or twenty-one years old shall take a wife sixteen years old,⁷ according to Āpastamba-Dharmaśāstra a man thirty years old shall take a wife ten years old and one twenty-one years old, a girl seven years old.⁸ According to Āśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra a maiden seven years old is called 'Śaiśavī'; a man eighteen years of age shall marry her; a maiden eight years old is called 'Gaurī', conducive to richness of son and grandsons; and she shall be married by a man twenty-five years old; a girl nine years old is called 'Rohiṇī' conducive to richness of wealth; a wise man shall wed her for

be expiation for the wine-drinkers or even for the Brahman-murder; there is none for one who has begotten a child on a Śūdrā wife... Some people say that the Brahmana-husband of a Śūdrā-girl becomes degraded; according to others he does not become degraded, because of the assertion that the Brahmana may have four wives in the order of the four castes!"

1. History of Mexico, I-319. 2. Ap. and Āśv-Gṛh. 3. Āśv-Gṛh.
4. MBh. XIII-44-14, Ap. (Vīra-Saṁ., p. 767). 5. Mn. IX-94.
6. Mn. IX-94. 7. MBh. XIII-44-14. 8. Vīra-Saṁ., p. 767.

the accomplishment of all his desires; a girl over ten years age, until she has her courses, is called 'Gāndharī'; and she shall be married by a man desirous of living long.¹ These are casuistical examples but the general rule known in nearly all Indian Law-sources establishes, similarly to the custom known in Ancient Mexico that the girl should be given in marriage before puberty. We find this rule in Mānava-Dharmaśāstra,² Baudhāyana-Dharmaśāstra,³ Gautama-Smṛti,⁴ Vasiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra,⁵ Yama,⁶ Lalla,⁶ Śātātapa,⁶ etc.

(IV) According to Clavigere⁷ and Bancroft⁸ in Ancient Mexico a youth was seldom allowed to choose a wife for himself but was expected to abide by the selection of his parents. In Ancient India we find the same rules which are joined to the rights of the "pater familias". He has had only the right—and concerning the girls—the obligation to secure the marriage of his children. We see it in Mānava-Dharmaśāstra,⁹ Gautama-Smṛti,¹⁰ Baudhāyana-Dharmaśāstra,¹¹ Āpastamba-Dharmaśūtra,¹² Vasiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra,¹³ Viṣṇu-Smṛti,¹⁴ Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra,¹⁵ Hārīta,¹⁶ Yama,¹⁶ Paiṭhīnasi,¹⁶ Śaṅkha-Likhita,¹⁶ Devala,¹⁶ Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra¹⁷ etc. Only if he does not take the necessary steps and his daughter has attained her puberty three months earlier without marriage, has she the right to make her own free choice.¹⁸

(V) The forms of marriage in Ancient Mexico and in Ancient India had probably the same development. Especially we see by the Aztecs the same transition from the marriage by purchase to the marriage by sham purchase. According to Lubbock,¹⁹ Waitz²⁰ etc. in Ancient Mexico there existed the marriage by capture, afterwards the marriage by purchase

1. Vira-Saṁ., p. 767. 2. Mn. IX-88, 89. 3. B. IV-1-11.

4. G. XVIII-21. 5. Vas. XVII-70. 6. Vira-Saṁ., p. 754, 755.

7. History of Mexico, I-360. 8. Native Races, II-251.

9. Mn. III-27-31. 10. G. IV-4-11. 11. B. I-11-2, I-11-7.

12. Ap. II-11-18-II-12-1. 13. Vas. I-31-35.

14. Vi. XXIV-20-24. 15. Y. I-59-61.

16. Vira-Saṁ., p. 849-851, 853. 17. Aśv. I-6-2-5.

18. Mn. IX-89-90, Mbh. XIII-44-45, B. IV-10-14, G. XVIII-20, Vas. XVII-67-68, Vi. XXIV-40, Y. I-64, N. XII-22-23, Yama, (Vira-Saṁ., p. 773) etc.

19. Orig., p. 20. 20. Anthropologie der Naturvölker, III. p. 104.

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and so on. From another place in the work of Waitz¹ it is evident that in the country of the Aztecs the marriage was no more a real purchase, although the parents have received gifts. We find the same in the Ancient Indian Law-books. We see there the two forms of marriage by capture i. e. the Rākṣasa-vivāha² as well as the Pāisāca-vivāha,³ the marriage by purchase i. e. the Āsura-vivāha⁴ which on account of this fact, that the sale of a man was no longer allowed was considered as a profanation of a man became a form of marriage by sham purchase i. e. the Ārṣa-vivāha.⁵ Although in Ancient India gifts were given, this gift could be returned directly, or indirectly to the giver.⁶ This transition from the form of marriage by purchase to a form of marriage by sham-purchase does not appear very often among other nations but we find this transition of these forms of marriage in Ancient India and in Ancient Mexico.

(VI) Concerning the problem of duration of marriage, especially the dissolution of the marriage, it ought to be marked that this juridical problem was better decided by the Aztecs than in Ancient India. We see there a little higher step of

1. Do. IV. p. 132.

2. Mn. III-33, Y. I-61, Ap. II-5-12-2, G. IV-12, Vas. I-34, B. I-11-20-8; Vi. XXIV-25, N. XII-43, K. III-2, Sankh. IV-6, Mbh. XIII-44, Ādi Parva 112, Vats. Part 3, Ch. 5, Āśv. I-6-8, (Vira-Saṁ., p. 857), (Hārīta, Devala) Vide also Mn. VIII-323, Y. II-287, N. 28, Brh. XXII-18, 27, 28.

3. Mn. III-34, Y. I-61, G. IV-13, B. I-11-20-9, Vi. XXIV-26, N. XII-43, K. III-2, Sankh. IV-6, Āśv. I-6-7, Vats. Part 3, Ch. 5, (Vira-Saṁ., p. 858), Devala, Hārīta, Vide also Mn. VIII-323, Y. II-287, N. 28, Brh. XXIV-28.

4. Mn. III-31, Y. I-16, Ap. II-6-12-1, II-6-13-1, G. II-11, Vas. I-33, 36, B. I-11-20-7, Vi. XXIV-24, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Sankh. I-14-16, Āśv. I-6-6, Mbh. XIII-44, Ādi Parva, 112, (Vira-Saṁ., p. 853), (Paithīnasi Hārīta), Vide Mn. III-51-54, VIII-204, IX-97-100, Y. I-61, B. I-11-21-2, 3, Mbh. XIII-45, XIII-80.

5. Mn. III-29, Y. I-59, Ap. II-5-11-18, G. IV-8, Vas. I-32, B. I-11-20-4, Vi. XXIV-21, N. XII-41, K. III-2, Sankh. IV-4, Āśv. I-6-4, Mbh. XIII-45, Ādi Parva, 112, Kam. 23, Vira-Saṁ., p. 851, (Devala, Śaṅkhar Likhita). Vide Mn. III-38, 51, 54, VIII-204, IX-97-100, Y. I-61, B. I-11-21-2, 3, Mbh. XIII-45, XIII-80.

6. Sternbach: A Sociological Study of the Forms of Marriage in Ancient India.

development of this juridical problem. According to Gomara in *Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias*, in *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (XXII-440), according to Torquemada in *Monarchia Indiana* (II-442) and according to Bancroft in *Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*; (II-262) the divorce was permitted, but as a general rule discouraged. In the event of discord arising between man and wife so that they could not live together peacefully, or if one or the other of the parties considered that he, or she, had just cause of complaint, an application was made to a judge for permission to separate. Not even a 'less legitimate wife' could be repudiated without good cause and the sanction of a court.¹ A man was permitted to divorce his chief or real wife only for malevolence, dirtiness, or sterility i. e. *ex iusta* or *ex iustissima causa*; according to Gomara² an adulteress was not divorced but punished with death.

We see that in Ancient Mexico the institution of the *repudiatio uxoris* does not exist. A sanction of a court was necessary as well as for the separation an application ought to be made to a judge. In Ancient India the institution of *repudiatio uxoris* prevailed which consists on one sided act of the repudiation of the wife by the husband. But we see that the tendency of the Ancient Indian Law-books was to render this '*repudiatio*' as difficult as possible. We see even in *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*,³ according to which *Dharmaśāstra* the court can interfere when the husband cannot dispose of his wife single-handed. Although the older Law-books do not permit the separation of husband and wife in the event of discord, (what we find in Ancient Mexico) according to the more advanced Law-book i. e. the *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* we see a possibility of a separation in this case. We find in the third book, chapter three, the following sentence: 'A woman hating her husband cannot dissolve her marriage with him against his will. Nor can a man dissolve his marriage with wife against her will. But divorce may be obtained for mutual dislike' (परस्परं द्वेषान्मोक्षः).⁴ So we see that

1. Bancroft : *Native Races*, II. p. 265.

2. *Primera y segunda Parte de la historia general de las Indias*, in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XXII-440. 3. Vide. V-18.

4. Vide N. XII-90, 'When husband and wife leave one another from mutual dislike it is a sin...'

as in Ancient Mexico, so in Ancient India there existed the right of a wife of taking an active part in the application to the separation of marriage, which happens very rarely among nations in such a stage of civilisation.

We do not find in Ancient India a rule according to which the wife could not be repudiated without good cause. But leaning towards such a rule may be seen in many Law-books. We see this leaning from the consequences, which are connected with the separation. These depended on the reasons of separation. We find for instance in the Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra three reasons, which lead to certain other pecuniary consequences i. e. in case of the separation by the husband *ex iustissima causa*, *ex iusta causa* or *sine causa*. In the first case the wife has to receive her most essential needs, in the second case an adequate livelihood, and in the last case she has to receive the third part of her husband's estate.¹ So in Ancient India a man was permitted in practice to divorce only *ex iustissima causa* or *ex iusta causa*. The husband was almost not allowed to divorce his wife *sine causa*. We see this from Viṣṇu-Smṛti,² where we read that a husband who forsakes a blameless wife, shall be punished as a thief. We see it too from another place of Yājñavalkya's Dharmaśāstra. Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra even considers that if between the husband or the wife one forsakes the other, unless he, or she became an outcaste, he shall be fined one hundred paṇas.⁴ The same we find in Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, where the fine was established on six hundred paṇas.⁵ Here we see well the aim of the Ancient Indian Legislators i. e. to make divorce impossible.

These *iustissimae et iustae causae* were of many kinds but restriction existed in the number of these causes in the most recent Law-books.

These causes were as follows : If a woman drank spirituous liquors,⁷ if her conduct was bad,⁸ if she was diseased,⁹ etc.

1. Y. I-70-76.

2. Vide V-163.

3. Y. I-66.

4. Y. Y. II-237.

5. Mn. VIII-389.

6. The act of abandonment is not prohibited, but punished only.

7. Mn. IX-80, Y. I-73.

8. Mn. IX-80, vide N. XII-94.

9. Mn. IX-80, Y. I-73, Devala, (Vivādaratnākara).

chievous or deceitful,¹ wasteful,² rebellious,³ if she was barren,⁴ or if all her children die,⁵ if she bears only daughters,⁶ is quarrelsome, or her tongue was harsh,⁷ if she makes attempt on her husband's life,⁸ or show malice against the husband,^{9,10} or if she eats before her husband,¹¹ or is unchaste,¹² or outcaste.¹³

Although not exactly the same in every detail the institution of the dissolution of the marriage was very similar in Ancient Mexico and in Ancient India. At all events the aim of the legislators of Ancient Mexico and of Ancient India was the same i. e. 'The divorce was permitted but as general rule discouraged'.

(VII) We can find many similar legal or social institutions in all sections of the law but besides the law of marriage we find the greatest number of similar institutions in criminal law.

Especially well known in both the countries of Antiquity is the principle of relation (*lex talionis*), for instance the cutting off of hands in the case of theft,¹⁴ or the cutting off of lips¹⁵ and other parts of the human body as punishment for offences.

The greater number of offences known in Ancient India was also known in Ancient Mexico, but very often in Ancient Mexico the punishments were more stern, for instance in the case of adultery, sexual offences, magic etc. For adultery in the statute of Netzahualcoytl's capital punishment¹⁶ is laid down as the

1. Mn. IX-80, Y. I-73. 2. Mn. IX-80, Y. I-73, N. XII-92.

3. Mn. IX-80

4. Mn. IX-81, Y. I-73, B. II-2-4-6, Devala, (Viv. p. 423), Hārīta, (Viv. p. 42), Āp. (Apararka, 100). (Vide N. XII-94).

5. Mn. IX-81, N. XII-92, B. II-2-4-6, Devala, (Viv. p. 423).

6. Mn. IX-81, Y. I-73, B. II-2-4-6, Devala, (Viv. p. 423).

7. Mn. IX-81, N. XII-92, Y. I-73, B. II-2-4-6, Devala, (Viv. p. 423), vide N. XII-94.

8. N. XII-32.

9. Y. I-73, N. XII-92, Y. I-73, Devala, (Viv. p. 423), Sankh. (Vīra-Saṁ.).

10. or inimical towards the husband.

11. N. XII-92. 12. Brahmapurāṇa, (Parāśarmādhava-Ācara, p. 508).

13. Devala, (Vivādaratnākara).

14. By the Ancient Indians of Cuxco, Post : Die Anfaenge des Staats und Rechtslebens, p. 223 and by the Ancient Indians according to Mn. VIII-322, Vi. XV-81-82 ff.

15. By the Aztecs, Waitz : Anthropologie der Naturvoelker, IV-84, in Ancient India Mn. III-282, Vi. V-21, 22, N. XV-16, 27, etc.

16. Vide Waitz : Anthropologie der Naturvoelker, IV-84.

proper punishment, but in the Ancient Indian Dharmaśāstra only a fine is laid down, the scale of which depends on the caste of the woman and the man,¹ although in the case of a woman who commits adultery with a man of lower caste, the king can order her to be devoured by dogs in a public place.² For sexual offences in the statute of Netzahualcoytls the capital punishment is ordained,³ but in the Ancient Indian Dharmaśāstra only a fine is ordained,⁴ although in some cases the '*Talion*' is also ordained.⁵ The use of magic is punished according to the statute of Netzahuacoytls⁶ and by the Inkas from Peru⁷ by capital punishment, but according to the Ancient Indian Dharmaśāstras this offence has a fine only.⁸

But in many cases the same punishment is ordained in Ancient India and in Ancient Mexico for the same offences.

For instance, capital punishment is ordained, both in Ancient India⁹ and in Ancient Mexico¹⁰ for the stealing by a man; of course it might appear strange that for such an offence so high punishment is ordained.

Many other examples might to be given regarding the similar social and legal institutions in Ancient Mexico and in Ancient India. For instance, the well-known institution of '*Calpulli*' in Ancient Mexico, which resembles the joint family in Ancient India, or the consideration of land as the property of the king etc.

These examples are given as the selected few out of many as part of the several proofs of similarity of institutions, which similarity can be a source for scholars to try to prove the influence of the Ancient Indian Civilisation on the Civilisation of Ancient Mexico.

1. Mn. VIII-372 ff.

2. Mn. VIII-371, G. XXIII-14, Vide Vi. 5-18.

3. Waitz : Anthropologie der Naturvoelker, IV-85.

4. Y. II-289, 293, N. XII-76, Vi. V-42, 44, Mn. VIII-369 etc.

5. Mn. VIII-370.

6. Waitz : Anthropologie der Naturvoelker, IV-85.

7. Waitz : Do. IV-415.

8. Mn. IX-258, 290, K. IV. ch. 13.

9. Mn. VIII-323, N. Theft, 28, Brh. XXII-18, Vivādaratnakara p. 317; differently Brh. XXII-27, 28, Vyāsa, (Viv. p. 317), Sankh. (Viv. p. 318).

10. Statute of Netzahualcoytls, Waitz : Anthropologie der Naturvoelker, IV-84.

THE PAÑCAPĀDIKĀ LITERATURE

(E. P. Radhakrishnan, M.A.)

Any student of Indian philosophy will be quite familiar with what the word, prasthānatraya, generally signifies. But there are many who are still in the dark with regard to what the term exactly means. I have discussed this topic in another place¹ and concluded that by 'Prasthānatraya' we should mean three different lines of thought that came into vogue for the interpretation of Śaṅkarācārya's Bhāṣya on the Brahma-sūtras. The three famous prasthānas are known as the Vārttikaprasthāna (or Sureśvara-prasthāna), Tīkāprasthāna (known as Pañcapādikā-prasthāna or better as Vivaraṇa prasthāna) and the Bhāmatī-prasthāna. I do not propose to give a detailed account of these prasthānas here or to indulge in a comparative study of these three separate lines of thought. The object of this paper is simply to draw the attention of scholars to the available literature on these prasthānas. There, too, I want to restrict the scope to the Vivaraṇaprasthāna.

The essence of Vedānta as contained in the Upaniṣads has been codified by the sage Bādarāyaṇa in the form of Brahma-sūtras. Many commentaries were written on these Sūtras and the famous Śārīrakabhāṣya of the famous Śaṅkara is the earliest among such commentaries available to us now. Śaṅkara's bhāṣya is an epoch-making work in the realm of Advaita philosophy, as it is the basic work which gave a new force to Advaitic thinking, and which opened out, so to say, the real treasure of Advaita to the world of scholars. Many commentaries and commentaries on commentaries were written, on this monumental piece of composition. The bhāṣya of Śaṅkara is also important from the point that it gave birth to three important lines of thought in the development of Advaita. Of the originators of these lines of interpretation, namely, Sureśvara, Padmapāda and Vācaspati-miśra, all were Śaṅkara's contemporaries. Sureśvara and Padma-

1. In a paper entitled "The Sarvadarśana Literature" to be shortly published.

pāda were Śaṅkara's disciples;¹ and Vācaspati who flourished about 841 A.D. was not very far removed from Śaṅkara whose date as generally accepted falls between 788-820 A.D.

Now the earliest commentary² written on Śaṅkara's bhāṣya is the Pañcapādikā by Padmapāda. This work is also known as frequently referred to in later literature as ṭikā. That is why we get the names, Pañcapādikāprasthāna and ṭikāprasthāna, to denote one and the same school of thought.

The term, Pañcapādikā, has confused many a scholar. Generally, it appears to denote the extent up to five pādās, i.e. the I Adhyāya complete and the first pāda of the second Adhyāya. But all the available manuscripts of the Pañcapādikā run only to the end of the samanvayasūtra. That is, the commentary extends only to the catuṣṣūtrī portion.

I do not propose to dwell here on the tenets of this school or on a comparative estimate of the three well-known schools. But before proceeding further, it would be useful to briefly indicate the important factor which distinguishes one school from another. Sureśvara held that *Māyā* is an instrument through which Brahman appears as many. *Māyā* was not recognised by him as a substance, though it was regarded as positive. *Māyā* had both for its object and substrate the Brahman. Sarvajña man, Sureśvara's disciple says :

“आश्रयत्वविषयत्वभागिनी निर्विकल्पचित्तिरेव केवला ।”

(Samkṣepasārīra, I, verse 31)

Vācaspati on the other hand is inclined to give a little more substantiality to *Māyā*. He is prepared to admit the co-existence of *Māyā* with Brahman. *Māyā* hides Brahman as its object but its *āśraya*, substrate is not Brahman, but the individual Jīvas. Padmapāda and his followers attribute some more substantiality to *Māyā*. *Māyā* or nescience, according

1. See Śaṅkarācāryacarita by Govindanātha, which mentions 12 disciples, viz., Padmapāda, Hastāmalaka, Toṭaka and Sureśvara.

2. Mr. K. Sambaśiva Śāstrin under the MS. of Bhāmatī, No. 610 of Des. Cat. of Skt. Mss. Vol. III of the Trivandram Palace Library, p. 803, remarks: “There are several commentaries on Brahmasūtra, Śaṅkarabhāṣya, and this (i.e. Bhāmatī) is perhaps the first and most renowned.” This is clearly a mistake as the first Com. on Śaṅkarabhāṣya, so far known is the Pañcapādikā and not Bhāmatī.

this school, is regarded as a positive stuff having the double capacity of cognitive and vibratory activities, Jñānaśakti and Kriyāśakti, the former determining the psychical process, and the latter the physical process. Brahman, when in association with *Māyā* having these two capacities, is called *Īśvara*, the root cause of the world.¹ The points of agreement and difference of these three schools of thought can be dealt with on a bigger scale, which will make a special branch of study and critical investigation.

To return to the topic on hand, namely, the literature available on the *Pañcapādikā*, the most famous and exhaustive commentary on the *Pañcapādikā* is the *Vivaraṇa* by *Prakāśātman*, pupil of *Ananyānubhava*. This commentary is so brilliant and original that it gave the name, *Vivaraṇaprasthāna* to the school of thought originated by *Padmapāda*. Other details regarding this work, I shall refer to later on. Besides this, a few other commentaries also are available on the *Pañcapādikā*, and I shall now describe them.

1. *Pañcapādikāvyaṅkhyā, Prabodhaparīśodhinī*.—This is by *Ātmasvarūpa*, a disciple of one *Nṛsimhasvarūpa*. A manuscript of this work is available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, R. No. 3225. *Ātmasvarūpa* in an introductory verse salutes his teacher, *Narasimhasvarūpa* thus :—

ध्यानादानालजाग्रद्धृदयसरसिजज्ञानमैर्यधारा—

स्वादज्ञस्वात्मतृप्तं यतिवरपरिषत्पूज्यपूज्यं यतीन्द्रम् ।

भूयो भूयो नमस्यापरिचयपदुना मौलिना वीतसंख्यान्

वारानाराधयामो दिशि दिशि भगवच्छ्रीनृसिंहस्वरूपान् ॥

Towards the end of the commentary also, his guru is mentioned by name.

श्रीनृसिंहस्वरूपस्य शिष्येणेयं मयेरिता ।

आत्मस्वरूपनाम्ना हि प्रबोधपरिशोधिनी ॥

The above verse also tells us that his commentary was called *prabodhaparīśodhinī*.

In another verse in the introduction he tells us in very clear terms that his work is a direct commentary on the *Pañcapādikā*.

प्रणम्य परमानन्दं प्रणतार्तिहरं हरिम् ।

प्रत्यक् प्रबोधसिद्धयर्थं विमजे पञ्चादिकाम् ॥

1. Das Gupta : History of Indian Philosophy, II, pp. 47-48.

This Ātmasvarūpa is the same as the author of a commentary on the Padārthatattvanirṇaya of Ānandānubhava. The commentary is available in the Madras Mss. Library, R. No. 4219. In this work also the introductory verse paying respects to his preceptor happens to be the same as in his commentary on the Pañcapādikā. It is also worthy of note that the closing portions of both these commentaries are also somewhat the same. The two verses in the end of his Pañcapādikāvyaṅkhyā read :

श्रीनृसिंहस्वरूपस्य शिष्येणेयं मयेरिता ।
 आत्मस्वरूपनाम्ना हि प्रबोधपरिशोधिनी ॥
 सेव्यतां सर्वदा सर्वैः सद्भिः संन्यासवित्तमैः ।
 सदानन्दोऽपरोक्षाय सतां सन्तोषसाधनी ॥

There is only one verse found in the end of his commentary on the Padārthatattvanirṇaya. It runs :

इयं पदार्थनिर्णीतिः प्रबोधपरिशोधिनी ।
 सेव्यतां सर्वदा सर्वैः सद्भिः संन्यासवित्तमैः ॥

The latter half of this verse is the same as the first half of the second verse in the close of the Pañcapādikāvyaṅkhyā. It can be seen that both his commentaries bear the name, prabodha-pariśodhini.

Ātmasvarūpa's commentary on the Pañcapādikā is also very important from the fact that it supplies us the source from which Śaṅkara extracted three verses found at the end of the Candakāya-sūtrībhāṣya. Ātmasvarūpa's remarks here are significant.¹

श्लोकत्रयं सुन्दरपाण्ड्यप्रणीतं प्रमाणयतीत्याह प्रसिद्धमिति ।

(P. 248 of Mad. Ms. R. 322)

(2) *Pañcapādikāṭikā*, by Ānandapūrṇayati, called also Śaṅkaranandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara. The extracts that I propose to give below would be sufficient to show that it is a direct commentary on the Pañcapādikā.

ग्रन्थारम्भे शिष्टाचारं अनुविदधानोऽप्रत्यूहपरिपूरणफलं मङ्गलं करोति हे अनाद्यानन्देति ।

The name of Ānandapūrṇa is very familiar to students of Advaita philosophy and he requires no more introduction. He writes :

1. This fact has been already pointed out by Prof. Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sāstriar ; See J. O. R. Madras.

many works on Advaita. Some of his important works are : (1) A Commentary on Sureśvata's Bṛhadāraṇyakavārttika, (Mad. Ms. R. 5283), (2) The Pañcapādikāṭikā under reference, (3) Brahmasiddhivyākhyā, called Bhāvaśuddhi (Madras Ms. R. 3967), (4) Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyāṭikā (Madras Mss. R. Nos. 3870 f. 4205, 3916) and (5) Nyāyacandrikā (Mad. Ms. R. 2931). The Nyāyacandrikā is in four prakaraṇas devoted to a refutation of the views of Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā and Vaiśeṣika. This is an important dialectical work for a comparative study of Advaita ontology and epistemology in relation to other schools. It may also be of interest to note down here that one Svarūpānanda has written a commentary on this, and a manuscript copy of this commentary is also available in the Madras Mss. Library, R. No. 3031.

Ānandapūrṇa flourished about 1350 A.D. For fuller details regarding his date, etc. the reader may consult an article entitled 'The Date and Works of Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara' by Dr. V. Raghavan, published in the Annals of Oriental Research of the Madras University, Vol. IV, i.

Many scholars seem to think that Ānandapūrṇa wrote only commentary on the Pañcapādikāvivarṇa. They say that the Pañcapādikāṭikā mentioned by Aufrecht as a work of Ānandapūrṇa is not a direct commentary on the Pañcapādikā, but is the same as Ānandapūrṇa's commentary called Tīkārātna, on the Pañcapādikāvivarṇa. This is a mistake. Ānandapūrṇa wrote commentaries both on the Pañcapādikā and the Pañcapādikāvivarṇa. A Manuscript of the Pañcapādikāṭikā is available in the India Office Library (India Office Mss. Catalogue, No. 2261). Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jhā also has a manuscript of Ānandapūrṇa's Pañcapādikāṭikā in his private collection. Further the extract given by me above, as found in the India Office Manuscript, shows decidedly that it is a direct commentary on the Pañcapādikā, as evidenced by the pratika, मङ्गलं करोति, अनाद्यानन्देति where the verse

अनाद्यानन्दकूटस्थज्ञानानन्तसदात्मने ।

अभूतद्वैतजालाय साक्षिणे ब्रह्मणे नमः ॥

the opening śloka of the Pañcapādikā and not of the Vivarṇa.

(3) *Pañcapādikāvyaḥkhyā, Vaktavyakāśikā* :

This is by one Uttamajña Yati. A manuscript copy of the commentary is available in the Śringeri Mutt Collection of Sanskrit Mss.

About the author, Uttamajña Yati, I had mentioned elsewhere. He is identical with the author of a ṭippaṇa² on Jñānaghana Tattvaśuddhi. He was a disciple of Jñānottama. In the beginning of his short commentary on the Tattvaśuddhi, he says :

यन्नामश्रवणाद्धीता वादिनो मोहिता मृशम् ।

तस्मै ज्ञानोत्तमार्याय जगन्मोहभिदे नमः ॥

उत्तमज्ञो यतिवरो ज्ञानोत्तमपदाश्रयः ।

तत्त्वशुद्धेस्तु सद्ग्रन्थस्यामहं कुर्वे यथाबलम् ॥

Further information regarding Uttamajña, is next to nothing.

(4) *Pañcapādikāvyaḥkhyā, Padayojanā* :

Dharmarājādhvarin in one of the introductory verses of the famous Vedāntaparibhāṣā, says that he wrote a commentary on the Pañcapādikā also. The verse³ under reference reads :

टीका शशधरस्यापि बालव्युत्पत्तिदायिनी ।

पदयोजनया पञ्चपादिका व्याकृता तथा ॥

(T. S. S. Edn. verse.)

Dr. Hultzsch in his 'Reports on Sanskrit Mss. in Southern India', Vol. II, No. 1152, notices an incomplete manuscript of this work. The work as given by him bears the name, *Pañcapādikā*.⁴ But the author, Dharmarājādhvarin, seems to have named his composition as *Padyojanā*. Dharmarājādhvarin is well known in the school of Advaita and hence details regarding him are omitted.

(5) *Pañcapādikāṭikā* by *Nṛsimhāśrama* :

Manuscripts of this work are available in the Madras Tanjore⁶ and Mysore⁷ Libraries. Of these the Madras

1. In a paper entitled 'Jñānaghana Pūjyapāda', published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, ii.

2. For a Ms. of this see Madras Des. Cat. No. 15730.

3. The Venk. Press Edn. of the Vedāntaparibhāṣā, omits this verse.

4. The extracts supplied on p. 114 of Hultzsch's II Report reads:

इति धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्रविरचितायां पञ्चपादिकायां [ददीपिकायां].....

समाप्तम् ।

5. Madras Ms. R. 2626.

6. Tanjore Des. Cat. of Mss. by P. P. S. Sastri, Nos. 7065-7066.

7. Mysore Ms. No. 3951.

script contains only the first five varṇakas. Both the Tanjore manuscripts are incomplete running only upto the end of the second varṇaka. The Mysore manuscript too extends only to the end of the first varṇaka.

Nṛsimhāśrama flourished in the 16th century. He was the paramaguru of Dharmarāja Adhvarin. His name is quite familiar in the Advaitic School and his contribution to the development of the Advaitic thought is evidenced by a good number of independent and authoritative dialectical works written by him.

The fact that the above work is a direct commentary on the Pañcapādikā is borne out by the author's own promise in the beginning. He says :

सर्वसाक्षिणमाश्रित्य नरकेसरिणं गुरुम् ।

विश्वेशं गिरिजां दुष्टि¹ व्याकुर्वे पञ्चपादिकाम् ॥

The work bears the name Vedāntaratnakośa as found in the colophon in the Tanjore manuscript :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीजगन्नाथपूज्यपादशिष्यश्रीनृसिंहमुनि-
विरचितायां वेदान्तरत्नकोशसमाख्यायां पञ्चपादिकान्याख्यायां द्वितीयवर्णकं
समाप्तम् ।

(6) *Pañcapādikāvyaṅgyā*, by *Vijñānavāsa Yati* :

An incomplete manuscript of this work is available in the Madras Government Mss. Library.² No particular information regarding the author, Vijñānavāsa is known, except that he mentions one Sakalendraguru, who in all probability might have been his preceptor.

यत्पादपादनलिनीमधुलालसाय

शिष्यालिवृन्दमधुरां गिरिमाकलय्य ।

तद्गीतदिगजमदभ्रमरा विशब्दा :

चेरुः नमामि सकलेन्द्रगुरून् हं तान् ॥

The name of the author is made out from a verse in the beginning :

त्रय्यन्तेतरकुम्भिकुम्भदलनव्यायामलीलारसं

त्रय्यन्तार्थविवेचनोन्मुखलसन्न्यायोऽग्रभास्वन्नखम् ।

1. The Madras Ms. reads दुर्गा which, however, does not seem to fit in the context properly.

2. Madras Ms. R. 5387.

गूढार्थमलपञ्चपादिकवचोव्याख्यानकण्ठीरवं

बालानां मतये करोमि बलिनं विज्ञानवासी यतिः ॥

In the introduction to Vol. VII, Part I of the Madras Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts, Professor P. P. S. Sastri writes :

"On such an important work (i.e. the Pañcapādikā) which deserves to have many commentaries, *only one commentary* *hitherto known* to the public, namely the Vivaraṇa of Prakāśātman (1200 A.D.) through whom the Vivaraṇaprasthāna came to be recognised as distinct from the Bhāmatīprasthāna of Vācaspati. *The only other commentary so far known* is by Vijñānavāsya etc.

One is justly bound to be surprised at such bold remarks. 'The only commentary hitherto known' was not of Prakāśātman alone. Many others were also known to the public. On what grounds Prof. P. P. S. Sastri attributes the date 1200 A.D. to Prakāśātman is not clear. It would have been quite welcome to mention reasons for such a late date. Again it was not after the writing of the Vivaraṇa that the two main prasthānas were differentiated. It would be an anachronism to say so. For the Vivaraṇa prasthāna had its roots in the Pañcapādikā or ṭikā of Padmapāda himself, and only after the composition of the Pañcapādikā, Vācaspati's Bhāmatī was written. Earlier to Bhāmatī the prasthāna advocated by Padmapāda was known as the Pañcapādikāprasthāna or the ṭikāprasthāna. It was the introduction of the Bhāmatī that created a different school of thought, named after it as the Bhāmatīprasthāna. Perhaps the name Vivaraṇa prasthāna given to the ṭikā school of thought was only after Prakāśātman's work. Further, it would have been quite clear to Prof. P. P. S. Sastri himself explained what he meant by the words, '*so far known*'. Are we to take these words in the sense of known to him alone ?

Now to come to the topic on hand. Vijñānavāsa refers to one Amṛtānanda and refutes his views on the Adhyāsa-bhāṣya of Śaṅkara. Amṛtānanda is introduced as objecting to the adhyāsa of Śaṅkara :

अत्र अमृतानन्देन शिक्षितः कश्चित् जल्पति ।

‘अध्यासवर्णने नात्र किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोजनम् ।

प्रत्युतास्य प्रयत्नेन निराकरणमर्थवत् ॥

अन्यथा तत्समानत्वं सर्वस्यैव वदिष्यति ।

विशेषो न तदा वेदबौद्धिशास्त्रधियामपि ॥' इति

(p. 23 of Mad. Ms. R. 5387.

After this the view is criticised at some length. This Amṛtānanda is the same as referred to by the author of the Prakṛtārthavivaraṇa also.

(7) *Pañcapādikāvyaḥkhyā, Tātparyadyotini*.—This¹ is by one Vijñānātman, a disciple of Jñānottama. Jñānottama is mentioned both in the introduction and in the colophon.² This is a brief commentary on the Pañcapādikā. In the beginning of the commentary he clearly mentions that it is a direct commentary on the Pañcapādikā.

ब्रह्मणो वेदान्तप्रतिपाद्यत्वसिद्धये सुसुश्रूणां जिज्ञास्यत्वसिद्धये च परम-
पुरुषार्थरूपत्वं दर्शयति—अनाद्यानन्देति ।

(8) *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa*, by Prakāśātman.—This is the famous Vivaraṇa on the Pañcapādikā. The importance of this commentary need not be stressed here as it is very well and widely known. The details regarding the author, that he was the disciple of one Ananyānubhava, etc. are very well known and hence no necessity to reproduce here. Prakāśātman flourished about 1000 A.D. I have pointed out elsewhere³ that Prakāśātman had in mind the Iṣṭasiddhi of Vimuktātman, when he wrote the Vivaraṇa.

This, in brief, is an account of the eight independent and direct commentaries available to us so far, on the Pañcapādikā. Of these Das Gupta notices the Vivaraṇa of Prakāśātman, an anonymous commentary called Pañcapādikāvyaḥkhyā, and Ātmasvarūpa's commentary. He also makes mention of Dharmarājādhvarin's commentary.⁴

The above account was not based on any order of Chronology Chronologically Prakāśātman's vivaraṇa is the first and most

1. For a manuscript, see Madras, R. 4336.

2. The Colophon reads :

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकश्रीमज्ज्ञानोत्तमपूज्यपादशिष्यस्य विज्ञानात्मभगवतः
कृतौ तात्पर्यार्थद्योतन्यां प्रथमाधिकरणं समाप्तम् ।

3. My paper "The Date of Vimuktātman".

4. Das Gupta : History of Indian Philosophy, II, p. 52.

exhaustive of all. Then come probably the commentaries Uttamajña and Vijñānātman, both of whom were disciples of Jñānottama.¹ Slightly later is the commentary by Ātmasvarūpa. Still later is that by Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara. Then towards the middle of the 16th century Nṛsimhāśrama wrote his commentary. And after this, his pupil's pupil, Dharmarājādhvaja commented on the Pañcapādikā. About Vijñānātman, we are uncertain regarding his date. All these commentaries can be very advantageously used for a historical study of the Vivara school of thought and its development.

A word more about some other commentaries. An anonymous and incomplete commentary² on the Pañcapādikā is available in the Madras Government Manuscripts Library. Dr. Aufrecht, in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* also notices a commentary³ on the Pañcapādikā running up to the end of the Adhyasabhāṣya. Rice's reference⁴ to the Pañcapādikā Śāstradarpaṇa as attributed to Amalānanda is a mistake. This really seems to be a part of the commentary called Śāstradarpaṇa, by Amalānanda⁵ on the Brahmasūtras. The name, Pañcapādikā Śāstradarpaṇa might be due to the fact that in that particular manuscript the extent of the commentary was only up to the first five pādas, i.e. first Adhyāya in full and the first pāda of the second Adhyāya, or that the manuscript contained both the Pañcapādikā and the Śāstradarpaṇa. Again, a commentary called Tattvadīpana on the Pañcapādikā, is attributed to one Amalānandanātha.⁶ This is a mistake. For Hall's reference mentioned in this connection refers to the Vivaraṇatattvadīpana of Akhaṇḍananda, because the author is stated to be a disciple of Ānandacaula? (śaila) and Bodha-prthivīdhara. Ānandaśaila or Bodha-

1. Whether both Uttamajña and Vijñānātman studied under the same Jñānottama, we do not know, as there were many Jñānottamas.

2. Madras Ms. R. 3274.

3. *Catalogus Catalogorum* I, p. 315a.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Dr. Umesh Miśra writing in 1940, in his introduction to the *Ānanda Vijñāna Dipikā* attributed by him to Padmapāda, says that Amalānanda Sarasvatī wrote a commentary, called Darpaṇa on the Pañcapādikā. This is obviously a repetition of Rice's mistake. Amalānanda had nothing to do with the Pañcapādikā.

6. *Cat. Catalogorum*, I, p. 315a.

prthvīdhara is only Ānandagiri. Thus from the above it is possible to think that the Amṛtānanda in question, is only a mistake for Akhaṇḍānanda, disciple of Ānandagiri and the Pañcapādikā-tattvadīpana is in fact the Vivaraṇatattvadīpana of Akhaṇḍānanda.

This brings us practically to the end of direct commentaries on the Pañcapādikā. The Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa of Prakāśātman, as has been previously pointed out, is the most lucid and exhaustive of this type. It is not a mere commentary, but an original treatise in itself. Many commentaries on this are also known and I shall give below an account of these too.

(1) *Tattvadīpana of Akhaṇḍānanda :*

The full title of this commentary is Pañcapādikāvivarāṇa-tattvadīpana. As this is very famous, no further remarks are necessary here. The author, Akhaṇḍānanda is a disciple of Ānandagiri. Ānandagiri, pupil of Anubhūtiśvarūpa and Suddhānanda flourished about 1250 A.D., so that Akhaṇḍānanda can be safely supposed to have flourished towards the end of the 13th century. The Tattvadīpana, in its turn has a commentary from the pen of the celebrated Dharmarājādhvarin.¹ The commentary is called Padayojanī.²

(2) *Vivaraṇadarpaṇa :*

This is another commentary on the Vivaraṇa. The author is Raṅgarājādhvarin, the learned father of the famous Appayya Dikṣita. Appayya refers to him as a great teacher of Vedānta and perhaps studied Advaita Vedānta under him.

प्राचीनैः व्यवहारसिद्धविषयेष्वात्मैक्यसिद्धौ परं

संनह्यद्भिरनादरात् सरण्यो नानाविधा दर्शिताः ।

तन्मूलनिह संग्रहेण कतिचित् सिद्धान्तभेदान् धियः

शुद्धयै सङ्कलयामि तातचरणव्याख्यावचःख्यापितान् ॥

(Siddhāntaleśa, Intro. v. 2.)

A manuscript of this rare work is found in the Tanjore Palace Library. The manuscript is incomplete and has only the name

1. Ms. No. 3579 of the Mysore Oriental Library.

2. It is interesting to note that Dharmarāja wrote a direct commentary on the Pañcapādikā also, mentioned above. He names that also as Padayojanā.

of Vivaraṇadarpaṇa, without mention of the author's name. has been possible to make out the author from what Vīrabhadra kavi in his Āccāndīkṣitavamaṁśāvali, treating of the ancestors Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, says about Raṅgarājādhvarin thus :

यस्कीर्तिः सकलदिगन्तरप्रचारा

योऽकार्षीत् विवरणदर्पणाभिधानम् ।

(3) *Rjuvivarāṇa* is the name of another commentary on *Vivaraṇa*. The author of this is Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭopādhyāya son of the celebrated Janārdana. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa was a disciple of one Svāmīndrapūrṇa. He was also the traditional preceptor of the Sāyaṇa family of scholars. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa refers to the Trinetra. The first verse at the end of this commentary, *Rjuvivarāṇa*,¹ is very significant.

व्याख्यातो यस्मिन्नेत्रो विदितनिखिलगीः तत्सुतो यस्य नाम

मीमांसापारगन्तुः जनरणनयुतो योऽर्दनः तत्सुतेन ।

वीजं यन्नाम सिद्धं तदिह वननिधेरद्वितीयेन युक्तं

वायोः षष्ठं विधातुः युतमिह दशमात् पञ्चमेनेत्युक्तः ॥

In this verse the author has inscribed his name. From the former half we get the Trinetra was his grand-father and Janārdana (जनरणनयुतार्दन) his father. The latter half of the verse is very obscure. Mādhava in his Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha refers to him as Sahaja Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭopādhyāya.

Rāmānanda, pupil of Bhāratīrtha, wrote a commentary on the *Rjuvivarāṇa*. The commentary bears the title, *Trayya bhāvadīpikā*.² An anonymous commentary on the *Rjuvivarāṇa* is noticed in the Trivandrum Curator's Library.³ This is fragmentary.

(4) *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇavyākhyā—Tīkāratna* :

This is a commentary on Prakāśātman's *Vivaraṇa*. The author is Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara. A manuscript of this work is available in Madras Mss. Library (R. 3406). Ānandapūrṇa, as has been said already, wrote a commentary directly on *Pañcapādikā* also. In spite of the fact that these two are distinct

1. Printed in Mm. Ananta Krishna Sastri's Edn. of *Catussūtrī* 9 commentaries in Calcutta.

2. Madras Ms. R. 2956.

3. Triv. Curator's Cat. of Mss. Vol. VI, p. 4 (No. 16).

commentaries on the Pañcapādikā, and the Vivaraṇa, some scholars think that Ānandapūrṇa wrote a commentary only on the Vivaraṇa, and on this mistaken supposition they even identify the Pañcapādikāṭikā with the Ṭikāratna. To make clear that these two are different works by the same author, Ānandapūrṇa, I shall give below the extracts from these two works so as to enable scholars to realise that these two are distinct works.

- (1) आविरस्तु महस्तत्रो गौरीसन्ध्यावनोदितम् ।
 अन्तरायतमो हन्तु नरःस्तम्बेरमाकृति ॥ 1 ॥
 जिह्वारङ्गतले मृगाङ्गकलया etc. ॥ 2 ॥
 संविदानन्ददेहाय पूर्णिमाकृतिचक्षुषे (?)
 भवाय भवसंभूतभयविध्वंसिने नमः ॥ 3 ॥
 प्रपञ्चितं यदाचार्यवर्येण तदिहोच्यते ।

संक्षिप्यानन्दपूर्णैः टीकायां सुखबुद्धये ॥ 4 ॥

दृष्टा हि शिष्टानां सर्वकार्येषु भङ्ग(ल)पूर्विका प्रवृत्तिः । अतो ग्रन्थारंभे शिष्टा-
 चारमनुविदधानः अप्रत्यूहपरिपूरणफलं भङ्गलं करोति—अनाद्यानन्देति ।

(Extract from Pañcapādikāṭikā. IB. Ms. No. 2261.)

- (2) आलुबाहमखिलस्य नायकं कारणात्कलभक्तसंश्रितम् ।
 प्रारेतव सततं नमाम्यहं पारिजातमिव पार्वतीसुतम् ॥

× × × ×

प्रकाशात्मा यतिः टीकाविवृतिं कृतवान् पराम् ।

आनन्दपूर्णमुनिना भावस्तस्याः प्रकाश्यते ॥

इह खलु निखिलवादिकृतविप्रतिपत्तिसंशयनिरासनतत्त्वदर्शनद्वारा निःश्रेयस-

प्रयोजनश्रीमच्छारीरकमीमांसाभाष्यटीकाग्रन्थस्य विवरणमन्तरेण दुरधिगमत्वात्
 तदर्थविवरणमारभमाणः शिष्टाचारमनुविदधानो भङ्गलमाचरत्याद्येन ।

× × × ×

सर्गादिषु त्रिषु त्रिमूर्तित्वं दर्शयति—पालने—इति ।

(Extract from the Ṭikāratna as found in Mad. Ms. R. 3406.)

The foregoing extracts show beyond doubt that one is a commentary on the Pañcapādikā while the other is a commentary on the Vivaraṇa. The fourth verse in the extract (1) clearly speaks that Ānandapūrṇa is commenting briefly on the ṭikā, on the Pañcapādikā; while from extract (2) we clearly know that he is commenting on the Vivaraṇa of Prakāśātman. Further the pratikas taken, viz., अनाद्यानन्देति in (1) and पालने इति in (2) estab-

lish the one as a direct commentary on the *Pañcapādikā* and the other as a commentary on *Prakāśātman's Vivaraṇa*; because the stanzas corresponding to these *pratikas* are found in the *Pañcapādikā* and the *Vivaraṇa* respectively. The verses are:

अनाद्यानन्दकूटस्थज्ञानान्तसदात्मने ।

अभूतदैतजालाय साक्षिणे ब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ (*Pañcapādikā*)

पालने विमलसखवृत्तये जन्मकर्मणि रजोजुपे लये ।

तामसाय जगतः पराकृतद्वैतजालवपुषे नमः सते ॥ (*Vivaraṇa*)

This, I think, is enough to dispel the confusion lingering in the minds of some scholars who identify the *Pañcapādikāvyākhyā* of Ānandapūrṇa with his *Vivaraṇavyākhyā*, *ṭikāratna*, and altogether deny him the privilege and credit of having commented on both the *Pañcapādikā* and the *Vivaraṇa*.

(5) *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇavyākhyā*, by *Citsukha Munī*. *Citsukha*, disciple of *Gauḍeśvara Jñānottama* is famous in the history of the development of Advaitic thought and wrote many Advaitic works. He is one of the greatest dialecticians of Advaita who flourished in the beginning of the 13th century of the Christian era. He is best known by his work, *Pratyaktattva-pradīpikā*. Among his other major works as the *Khaṇḍanakhāṇḍakhādyāṭikā*, *Brahmasiddhivyākhyā*, etc., may be mentioned the commentary on the *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa* also, a manuscript copy of which is available in the Madras Government Museum Library (R. 4305). The commentary is called *Bhāvadyotanikā*. The second introductory verse gives it another name, *Tātparyadīpikā*.

प्रणम्य नरवारीन्द्रं चित्सुखाख्येन योगिना ।

विरच्यते विवरणे सैषा तात्पर्यदीपिका ॥

(6) *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇaprakāśikā*—The famous *Nṛsiṃhāśrama* is the author of a commentary on the *Vivaraṇa* also. This commentary is sometimes called *Vivaraṇaprakāśikā* and also *Vivaraṇabhāvaprakāśikā*. Manuscripts of this work are available in the Adyar, Madras and Mysore Libraries. Aufrecht's entry as *Viraraṇabhāvaprakāśikā*, attributing the same to *Parivrajakācārya* seems to mean obviously *Nṛsiṃhāśrama*, who was a *Sannyāsin*.

(7) *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇojjivīnī*.¹—This is a commentary on the Vivaraṇa. Its author is one Yājñeśvara Dīkṣita. He was a son of one Carkūri Koṇḍubhaṭṭopādhyāya, and his mother was called Gaṅgāmbikā. He belonged to the Kāśyapagotra and was a follower of the Bahvṛcaśākhā. He had a brother named Tirumala Dīkṣita and he studied under his grandfather, Yājñeśa. All these details can be gathered from the Colophon.

इति श्रीकाश्यपगोत्र-बह्वृचाग्रेसरसकलपण्डितमण्डलाखण्डल पदवाक्यप्रमाण-
पारद्वयश्रीचक्रिकोण्डुभट्टोपाध्यायसूनुना गङ्गाम्बिकाश्रुक्तिमुक्तामणिना तिरुमल-
दीक्षितप्रियसोदरेण दक्षिणामूर्तिकङ्करेण यज्ञेश्वरदीक्षितेन विरचितायां विवरणो-
ज्जीविन्यां प्रथमवर्णकं सम्पूर्णम् ।

From a verse found in the beginning :

मन्त्रोपदेशगुरवो मम लोकमान्याः

कृष्णाश्रमा इति समस्तजगत्प्रसिद्धाः ।

it is possible to make out that he studied under one Kṛṣṇaśrama also. Another verse in the beginning reads :

नृसिंहाश्रमयोगीन्द्रग्रन्थशाणनिकापतः ।

क्षुद्रग्रन्थानुपेक्ष्याहं करोमि विमलां धियम् ॥

From this, perhaps we may infer that Yājñeśvara Dīkṣita, before writing his Ujjivīnī, consulted Nṛsimhāśrama's works, including Nṛsimhāśrama's commentaries both on the Pañcapādikā and the Vivaraṇa. Yājñeśvara Dīkṣita is also the author of a commentary called Prabhāmaṇḍala on the Śāstradīpikā.

(8) *Vivarāṇavyākhyā*, by *Vijñānātma Bhagavān* :

This commentary bears the title; Gūḍhārthadīpikā and is noticed in the Travancore Administration Report for the Kollam year 1103, Appendix B. No. 40. The author, Vijñānātma Bhagavān, may probably be identified with Vijñānātman, disciple of Jñānottama and author of a commentary on the Pañcapādikā, mentioned above.

(9) *Pañcapādikāvivarāṇavyākhyā*, by *S'rikṛṣṇa* :

Such an entry is found in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, p. 315b. A manuscript of this work is said to have been found in N. W. Frontier Provinces. (See N. W. Catalogue Vol. III, p. 122). Nothing more about this is to be known.

1. For Ms. see Madras Mss. Library, R. 592.

The foregoing finishes an account of the commentaries written on Prakāśātman's Vivaraṇa.

Apart from the above two categories of works, commentaries on the Pañcapādikā and the Vivaraṇa, bearing on the Vivaraṇa prasthāna, we have some other independent works giving in summarised manner the texts expounded in the above types of works. A few words about such works also, I think, will not be out of place in the account of the Pañcapādikā Literature.

(1) *Vivaraṇaprameyasāṅgraha* :

The leading work of the above class summarising the principles of the Vivaraṇa School of Advaitic thinking, is the *Vivaraṇaprameyasāṅgraha* attributed to Vidyāraṇya. The very same work seems to have been known by different names; *Vivaraṇa* (as described in Oppert's Lists), *Vivaraṇasāṅgraha*, and *Vivaraṇa Sārasāṅgraha*. Reference is made by Appayya Dīkṣita to a work by name *Vivaraṇopanyāsa* by Bhāratīrtha.

इति विवरणोपन्यासे भारतीतीर्थवचनम् ।

(*Siddhāntaleśa*, II pariccheda.

Prof. Das Gupta¹ takes this reference to mean a different work by name *Vivaraṇopanyāsa* by Bhāratīrtha, different from Vidyāraṇya's *Vivaraṇaprameyasāṅgraha*. Prof. S. S. Suryanārāyaṇ Śāstri also is inclined to accept this view. He says² that the *Vivaraṇopanyāsa* is also known by the name, *Vivaraṇaprameyasāṅgraha*. The author is Bhāratīrtha, contemporary and possibly preceptor of Vidyāraṇya. The fact seems to be this. What Appayya quotes as Bhāratīrtha's *Vivaraṇopanyāsa* is the same as the *Vivaraṇaprameyasāṅgraha* of Vidyāraṇya. Because Bhāratīrtha was Vidyāraṇya's guru, there seems to be no improbability in Vidyāraṇya voicing forth the opinion of his preceptor orally handed down to him in the course of his lectures to Vidyāraṇya. Further the colophon³ at the end of the first verṇaka of the first sūtra in the *Vivaraṇaprameyasāṅgraha* also lends support to the above supposition, for it mentions the work as *Vivaraṇopanyāsa*.

1. History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 216, f. n.

2. *Siddhāntaleśa*, Mad. Uni. Edn. App. p. lii.

3. इति श्रीविवरणोपन्यासे प्रथमवर्णकं समाप्तम् ।

(2) *Vivaraṇopanyāsa* :

Another similar work is the *Vivaraṇopanyāsa* of Rāmānanda, summarising the details of the *Vivaraṇa* of Prakāśātman. This Rāmānanda is the same as the author of the *Ratnaprabhā*.

(3) *Vivaraṇopanyāsa* :

Still another work bearing the title *Vivaraṇopanyāsa* is noticed in the Catalogue of manuscripts in the Sanskrit College, Benares during 1911-12, p. 3 (No. 2080). The work is attributed to one Vināyaka. It wants the beginning and end and is said to be different from Rāmānanda's work.

(4) *Advaitabhūṣaṇa* : This is another similar work, being an epitome of the principles contained in the *Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa* and similar to Vidyāraṇya's *Vivaraṇaprameyaṅgraha*. The author of this work is one Bodhānandendra Samyamin, disciple of Gīrvāṇendra Yati. An incomplete manuscript extending up to the end of the sixth varṇaka is available in the Madras Library.¹ This work also seems to have had the title, *Vivaraṇaprameya-saṅgraha*, as evidenced by the colophon at the end of the sixth varṇaka.

इति विवरणप्रमेयसंग्रहे षष्ठवर्णकमवसितम् ।

A commentary on this by one Vāsudevendra Sarasvati is available in manuscript in the Mysore Oriental Library.² The commentary is styled *Ānandadīpikā*.

This practically finishes an account of works bearing on the *Vivaraṇaprasthāna*. It can be seen that some wrote direct commentaries on the *Pañcapādikā*, some others on the *Vivaraṇa*, and still others like, Vidyāraṇya and Rāmānanda wrote long discourses of a dialectical nature expounding the views of the *Vivaraṇaprasthāna*. A study of all these works would be very useful and exhaustive in a historical sketch of the development of Advaita, and especially of the *Vivaraṇa* school of thought.

1. R. 3840. The Tanjore and Adyar Libraries also have this manuscript.

2. Cat. of Skt. Mss. Mysore Library, I, p. 421.

KĀTYĀYANA

(K. Madhava Krishna Sarma)

[Continued from Vol. V, No. 3]

I propose to examine in this paper certain representative Vārtikas with a view to clarifying the position of the Vārtikakāra in respect to Pāṇini. In the brief compass of a paper like this it is not possible to embark on a thorough analysis of the contents of all the Vārtikas. I therefore select only a few from each chapter, mostly those to which some historical interest is attached. The points deducible from this cursory examination will be given at the end. I follow the order of the chapters.

Pāṇini 1. 1. 6., Vārtika 1. The roots 'dīdhi' and 'vevi' become Vedic, i.e. obsolete in Kātyāyana's language.

P. 1. 2. 64., V. 22-23. In these Vārtikas Kātyāyana introduces us to two new types of Ekaśeṣa.

1. Ekaśeṣa of words of identical forms, but having different meanings, i.e.

अक्षश्च अक्षश्च अक्षश्च अक्षः ।

2. Ekaśeṣa of synonyms of dissimilar forms, e.g.

वक्रदण्डश्च कुटिलदण्डश्च वक्रदण्डौ ।

Some Vārtikas in the third Pāda of the first chapter deal with the extension, restriction and prohibition of the Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada, which necessarily pre-suppose a good deal of interchange between them.

P. 1. 4. 60., V. 1. The Vārtikakāra extends Gatisamjñā : 'kārikā' in order to have 'kārikākṛtya' (when¹ compounded with kṛtvā). Pāṇini's language does not perhaps have 'kārikākṛtya'.

V. 2. In the Vedic language 'punar' and 'canar' are included among Gatis. The object of this is to have the accent taught by P. 8. 1. 20 (गतिर्गतौ) in compounds² like punar-niṣkṛta and that taught by P. 6. 2. 49 (गतिरनन्तरः) in compounds like cano-hitah.⁴

1. According to P. 1. 4. 60, 2. 2. 18 and 7. 1. 37.

2. Both compounded with Kṛdanta words according to P. 2. 2. 18.

3. T. S. 1. 5. 2. 4.

4. R. V. 3. 2. 2; 11. 2; 9. 75. 1, 4.

Some Vārtikas in the first and second Pādas of the second chapter deal with some probably new types of compounds of which the important are exemplified by the following :

P. 2. 1. 24., V. 1. Grāmagamī, grāmagāmī.

P. 2. 1. 31., V. 4. Māsāvaraḥ.

P. 2. 1. 60, V. 3-4. Kṛtāpakṛtam, bhuktavibhuktam.

„ „ V. 5. Gatapratyāgatam. This class probably owes its existence to the influence of such older compounds as gatāgatam, kṛtākṛtam etc. taught by P. 2. 1. 60.

P. 2. 1. 69., V. 8. Śākapārthivaḥ.

Vigraha : शाकभोजी पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः ।

P. 2. 2. 24., V. 14. Praparaḥ.

Vigraha : प्रपतितपर्णः प्रपर्णः ।

P. 2. 2. 24., V. 21. Astikṣirā.

Vigraha : अस्ति क्षीरं यस्याः सा ।

Then there are some Vārtikas in this (second) Pāda of the 2nd chapter which determine the position of certain words in Dvandva and other compounds. Besides the principle of economy of effort, such considerations as the relative importance, the natural order of succession, veneration, age, the established order of things or persons denoted, etc., play an important part in the arrangement of words in the Dvandva compound (P. 2. 2. 34, V. 2-9).

In Kāraka the following are some of those types of Prayogas in which the respective Vibhaktis are not accounted for by Pāṇini but by Kātyāyana.

P. 2. 3. 2., V. 1. Samayā grāmam.

„ „ „ Nikaṣā grāmam.

„ „ „ Hā Devadattam.

P. 2. 2. 13., V. 1. Yupāya dāru.

P. 2. 3. 13., V. 2. Mutrāya kalpate yavāgūḥ.

„ „ V. 3. Vātāya kapilā vidyut.

„ „ V. 4. Hitam arocakine.

P. 2. 3. 18, V. 1. Prakṛtyā abhirūpaḥ.

P. 2. 3. 28., V. 2. Prāsādāt prekṣate.

P. 2. 3. 36., V. 1. Adhītivyākaraṇa.

P. 2. 3. 36., V. 2. Mātari sādhuḥ.

P. 2. 3. 52., V. 1. Mātuḥ smaryate.

P. 2. 3. 36., V. 6. Carmaṇi dvīpinam hanti.

There is a good deal of generalizing of the genitive case. The sphere of the Upapada-Vibhakti is also widened. New meanings are attributed to case affixes. In Patañjali's language this becomes so irregular that he has to say :

१ एकशतं षष्ठ्यर्थाः ॥ २ एवं तर्हि कर्मादीनामविवक्षा शेषः ।.....

...सतोऽप्यविवक्षा भवति ॥ etc.

The use of the genitive case is liberalized by him to greater extent.

P. 2. 4. 37., V. 1. According to the Sūtra, the root 'ad' is substituted by 'ghas' in Luṇ as well as when followed by Sa. The Vārtika says that this substitute should be had also when that root is followed by the Kṛt affix 'ac'.

P. 2. 4. 30., V. 2. In this Vārtika Kātyāyana points out that the compound daśagava (Dvigu) is neuter. This word is no doubt pre-Pāṇinian; but it may be remembered that in the Vedic language another form, viz., daśagva is also seen and also that there is no restriction of genders.

Daśagvaḥ : R. V. 10. 62. 6.

Daśagvam : R. V. 8. 12. 2.

P. 3. 1. 10., V. 1. A new class of denominatives is formed by the locatives, e. g., prāsādiyati kuṭyām (he lives in a hut as in a palace). According to the Sūtra, the Ācārārthaka denominatives are formed only by accusatives in cases of comparison where the treatment is mutually human, e. g., putriyati cchātraḥ (he treats the pupil as his own son).

P. 3. 1. 11., V. 1-2. The elision of the final 's' which is obligatory in Pāṇini's language is obligatory when a noun ends in 's' becomes optional in Kātyāyana's. This non-elision is later carried on further and further; and according to one commentator referred to by Patañjali, 'apsaras' is the only exception in the classical language.

Patañjali says :

अपर आह । सलोपोऽप्सरस एव । पयस्यत
इत्येव भवितव्यमिति । कथमोजायमानं
योऽहिं जघानेति । छान्दसः प्रयोगः । छन्दसि
दृष्टमनु विधीयते ।

We can recognize here four stages :—

1. Pāṇini's language ; payāyate. Compare also the Vedic example quoted by Patañjali.

2. Kātyāyana's language : payāyate and payasyate. Both are perhaps equally popular.

3. Payasyate and payāyate ; payasyate is perhaps more predominantly popular and it may even be said that in some places only payasyate is used to the exclusion of payāyate (Cf. सलोपोऽप्सरस एव).

4. Both are equally popular. Compare ओजोऽप्सरसोर्नित्यम् (3. 1. 11., V. 2.)

P. 3. 1. 15., V. 1. The denominative of 'tapas', namely 'tapasyati' which was once used either only in the Ātmanepada or in both the Padas takes only the Ātmanepada terminations in Kātyāyana's time. Patañjali gives an instance of its Ātmanepada—तपस्यते लोकजिगीपुरग्नेः and disposes it off as Chāndasa.

P. 3. 1. 22., V. 3. The intensive affix 'yañ' is added to 'ūrṇu' (Adādi group) which is not, as required by Pāṇini, a monosyllabic root beginning with a consonant. In Patañjali's time we see the extension of yañ to some other polysyllabic roots and also to roots which do not begin with a consonant, e. g., sūci, sūtri, aśi, etc. It is deserving of notice that after Pāṇini's time ūrṇu comes to be treated more and more as a monosyllabic root. Kātyāyana, as we have seen above, allows yañ to be added to it. He prohibits the periphrastic 'ām' also in Liṭ (P. 3. 1. 36., V. 6). In the following Kārikā Patañjali says that for all purposes ūrṇu must be regarded as ṇu (i. e. monosyllabic).

वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद्भावो यङ्प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनम् ।

आमश्च प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाचश्चेदुपग्रहात् ॥

P. 3. 1. 26., V. 5. This Vārtika allows a new class of causatives to be formed in the sense 'to do', e. g., सूत्रं करोति सूत्रयति । Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita² takes this and the following Vārtikas on this Sūtra as Gaṇasūtras.

1. The prohibition of 'it' by एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात् (P. 7. 2. 10) e. g., प्रोर्णुतः, प्रोर्णुतवान् ।

2. See Siddhānta-Kaumudī on P. 7. 4. 97.

P. 3. 1. 26., V. 6. Another class of causatives is formed by adding *ṇic* in the meanings 'he recites that legend', etc., words formed by *Kṛt* affixes and denoting a story; on the addition of *ṇic*, the *Kṛt* affix is elided and the base resumes its original form. For instance,

कंसवधमाचष्टे कंसं घातयति¹ ।

P. 3. 1. 35., V. 1. The periphrastic *ām* is not an old phenomenon. It does not occur in Vedic words, e. g., कृष्णो नोना (R. V. 1. 79. 2). Pāṇini also says कास्त्रत्ययादासमन्त्रे लिटि (3. 1. 35). Its addition becomes obligatory in the perfect of *indh* in Kātyāyana's language, whereas in Pāṇini's it is either optionally used or not used at all. On P. 1. 2. 6. (इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च) Kātyāyana and Patañjali say as follows :

Kātyāyana : इन्धेच्छन्दोविषयत्वाद्भुवो बुको नित्यत्वात्ताभ्यां
किद्वचनानर्थक्यम् ।

Patañjali : इन्धेच्छन्दोविषयो लिट् । न ह्यन्तरेण च्छन्द इन्धे-
रन्तरो लिङ्लभ्यः । आमा आपायां भवितव्यम् ।

But Pāṇini seems to have some instances without '*ām*' in his Bhāṣā.

The sphere of the periphrastic '*ām*' comes to be widened more and more after Pāṇini's time. In the Vārtika under discussion, Kātyāyana extends it to *cakās*, which, according to Pāṇiniyas is an independent polysyllabic root, i. e. not a reduplicated form of *kās*. This has two forms in the Aorist *ca*, namely *acacakāsat* and *acīcakāsat*. Kaiyaṭa gives a two-fold interpretation of P. 7. 4. 93 to account for these two forms. The whole topic has been fully discussed by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his *Siddhāntakaumudī* in which he says :

चकास्यर्थापयत्यूर्णोत्यादौ नाङ्गं द्विरुच्यते ।

किंत्वस्यावयवः कश्चित्स्मादेकाक्षिदं द्वयम् ॥

वस्तुतोऽङ्गस्यावयवो योऽभ्यास इति वर्णनात् ।

ऊर्णो दीर्घोऽर्थापयतौ द्वयं स्यादिति मन्महे ॥

चकास्तौ तूभयमिदं न स्यात्स्याच्च व्यवस्थया ।

Pāṇini. 7. 4. 93 (सन्वल्लघुनि चङ्परिजनलोपे) and 7. 4. 94 (दीर्घलोः) which (according to the first interpretation) relate only to

9. 'Vadh' is a substitute of 'han'.

10. See on P. 7. 4. 94.

monosyllabic roots are allowed by the second interpretation to take effect in the case of cakās also—a fact which indicates that it is really a reduplicated form of kās and that it is sometimes treated as such. This explains how 'ām' which Pāṇini teaches with reference to kās, (3. 1. 35) comes also to be added to cakās in Kātyāyana's time. But Kātyāyana who supplements P. 3. 3. 35 as above, regards it as an independent, i. e. primitive root. It may be noted that in Patañjali's language 'ām' is added to all polysyllabic roots. He emends P. 3. 1. 35 into कास्यनेकाजामन्त्रे लिति.

P. 3. 1. 96., V. 1. The Vārtika gives a new affix, viz. kelimar to form pancelima, etc.

P. 3. 1. 100., V. 1. A new word, namely ācārya is given. Pāṇini seems to have only ācārya.

P. 3. 2. 15., V. 1. Kātyāyana says that śaya is compounded with pārśva, etc., e. g., pārśvaśayaḥ. According to Pāṇini, śaya is compounded only with those words which denote real Adhikaraṇas, i. e. when the difference between the Ādhēya and the Adhikaraṇa denoted by the other member of that compound is real and not otherwise, e. g., bhūmiśayaḥ. In pārśvaśaya, pārśva denotes a mode of sleeping and not any Adhikaraṇa.

P. 3. 2. 48., V. 3. The word 'suga' left out by Pāṇini and accounted for by Kātyāyana in this Vārtika occurs in the Vedic language (R. V. 1. 41. 4; 2. 27. 6; 3. 54. 21 etc.)

P. 3. 2. 49., V. 1-3. Among the three words, namely, dārvāghāṭaḥ, cārvāghāṭaḥ and varṇasaṅghāṭaḥ explained by this Vārtika, the first occurs in Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā 24. 35.

P. 3. 2. 60., V. 1. The words explained by this Vārtika are found also in the Saṁhitās.

Sadṛṇ : R. V. 1. 94. 7; 8. 11. 8.

V. S. 17. 81.

Anyāḍṛṇ : V. S. 17. 81.

Sadṛśiḥ : R. V. 1. 123. 8; 3. 35. 3.

Sadṛkṣāsaḥ : V. S. 17. 34.

P. 4. 1. 85, V. 2. This Vārtika gives two words, namely pārthivā and pārthivī. Pāṇini does not say anything about this option. It is interesting to note that only the former occurs in the Saṁhitās.

Pārthivā : R. V. 1. 64. 3 ; 4. 53. 3 ; 5. 8. 7 ; 6. 16. 20 ; 6. 20 ; 6. 59. 9 ; 9. 14. 8. etc.

S. V. (3) 4. 2. 3 ; 6. 18. 3.

It is doubtful whether Pāṇini has the latter form in language.

P. 4. 1. 97, V. 1. We have, according to this Vārtik another derivative of akaṇ, namely, vaiyāsakīḥ. Patañjali gives four another, viz., vāruḍakīḥ, naiṣādakīḥ, cāṇḍālakīḥ and baimbakīḥ. He prefers to treat these words as indivisible, i. e. independent words not admitting of a grammatical analysis in Prakṛti and Pratyaya. Says he :

प्रकृत्यन्तराण्येवैतानि ।

P. 4. 2. 28, V. 2. Between the words śatarudriya and śatarudriya explained by this Vārtika, it may be noted that the former is favoured more by the Taittīyaśaṃhitā and its Brāhmaṇa and the latter by the Vājasaneyi Śaṃhitā and its Brāhmaṇa.

Śatarudriya : T. S. 5. 4. 3. 1, 3. 3, 4. 7, 5. 9.

T. B. 3. 11. 10. 3 ; 3. 11. 9. 9.

Śatarudriya : V. S. 21. 43, 44, 45.

S. B. 9. 1. 1. 1, 2, 6, 7, 43, 44 ; 10. 1. 5. 3, 2. 4. 15.

T. B. 3. 6. 11. 2.

P. 4. 1. 85, V. 3. Both daivya and daiva given by the Vārtika are seen in the Vedic language.

Daivya : R. V. 1. 31. 17

1. 44. 6

1. 44. 9

1. 44. 10

1. 114. 4

1. 2. 5. 2 etc.

S. V. (३) 3. 17. 1 ; 7. 10. 2 ; 8. 3. 3.

S. V. (४) 4. 1. 7 ; 6. 4. 6

V. S. 12. 111

S. B. 1. 8. 1. 27.

Daiva : V. S. 34. 1

A. V. 20. 135. 1, 3, 5, 7. 12. 1 ; 4. 16. 8 ; 5. 4. 1

P. 4. 1. 85, V. 4. Bāhya which this Vārtika explains occurs in V. S. 25. 2, and A. V. 2. 30. 4 and 19. 44. 6.

P. 4. 1. 85, V. 8. This Vārtika says that the Taddhita affix in auḍulomi is elided in the plural and that on this elision it assumes its original form, namely uḍulomāḥ. The elision of the Taddhita affix in the plural is due perhaps to the influence of words ending in Tadrāja affixes. Compare *P. 2. 4. 62 तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम्।*

P. 4. 2. 36, V. 5-6. Soḍha, dūsa, marisaca and peja owe their existence in Sanskrit probably to Prakṛtic influence. Dūsa is evidently a corruption of dugdha. Dūd is still current in some dialects like Hindi, Marathi etc. Peja in a similar sense is still in vogue in Koṅkaṇī; but there is no restriction that it should be used only in combination with tila.

Piñja occurs in the Atharvaveda.

Tilapiñja : *V. 2. 8. 3.*

Tilpiñja : *A. V. 12. 2. 54.*

P. 4. 2. 93., V. 1-2. Pāṇini enjoins the affix 'kha' to be added only to the compound avārapāra and to either of these words when employed separately; but Kātyāyana says that it is added also to avāra and pāra when they are used separately as well as when compounded inversely.

Then there are some Vārtikas in this Prakaraṇa explaining a good number of Taddhita words among which the following may be mentioned :

P. 4. 3. 58., V. 1. Pārimukhyam; pārihanavyam.

P. 4. 4. 1., V. 1. Māśabdikaḥ.

P. 4. 4. 1., V. 2. Prābhūtikaḥ.

P. 4. 4. 1., V. 3. Sausnātikaḥ; saukharātrikaḥ; saukhaśūyikaḥ.

P. 4. 4. 1., V. 4. Pāradārikaḥ; gaurutalpikaḥ.

P. 4. 4. 41., V. 1. Ādharmikaḥ.

P. 5. 1. 25., V. 1. Ardhikaḥ,

P. 5. 1. 25., V. 2. Kārṣāṇikaḥ. 'Prati' becomes an optional substitute for kārṣāṇa, e. g., pratikaḥ.

P. 5. 1. 29., V. 1. Adhyardhasuvarṇam; adhyardhasauvarṇikam; adhyardhaśatamānam; adhyardhaśatamānam.

P. 5. 1. 71., V. 1. Yajñiyaḥ; ārtvijīnam.

P. 5. 1. 77., V. 1-3. Pāṇini accounts only for uttarapathikaḥ; but Kātyāyana gives vāripathikaḥ, jāṅgalapathikaḥ, sthāla-

pathikah, kāntārapathikah, ājapathikah, śaṅkupathikah, and sthālapatham. The last is used in reference to Marica.

P. 5. 2. 29., V. 1-2. The affix kaṭac is extended to alāṭhila and umā also in denoting the dust thereof.

P. 5. 2. 29., V. 3. Some actual nouns are given in the Vārtika as affixes, their meanings being generalized. When used separately, i. e. as independent words they denote only the primary meanings, e. g. goṣṭha (which means a cow-shed and not a sheepfold or any other paśusthāna). Thinking that the Taddhitas (gogoṣṭha, etc.) can be explained in a better way, perhaps criticising some of his predecessors who might have explained them as above Kātyāyana next says : उपमानाद्वा सिद्धम् । With regard to taila used similarly as an affix in tilataila, guḍataila, etc., Patañjali makes this distinction :

१प्रकृत्यन्तरं तैलशब्दो विकारे वर्तते । एवं च कृत्वा
तिलतैलमित्यपि सिद्धं भवति ॥

It must be noted that Patañjali here speaks only of the word which is used as an affix and not of the other which is used as an independent noun. The original meaning of the latter is gingili-oil ; but in later Sanskrit it becomes a common name for all oils and Kaiyaṭa has to explain the above Mahābhāṣya as follows :—

व्युत्पत्त्युपाय एव तिलानां विकारस्तैलमिति ।
रुद्धिशब्दश्चायं स्नेहद्रव्यवृत्तिः । तथा च सादृश्यानुकरण-
मन्तरेणैङ्गुदतैलादयः शब्दाः प्रयुज्यन्ते । यथा प्रकृत्यो
वीणायां प्रवीण इति व्युत्पत्तिमात्रं क्रियते कौशलं
त्वस्य प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् । तेन वीणायां प्रवीण इत्यपि
भवति ॥

P. 5. 2. 33., V. 2. Kātyāyana gives 'cilla' and 'pillā'. Patañjali adds one more, namely 'culla.'

P. 5. 2. 51., V. 1. Kātyāyana accounts for turya: चतुर्थः यत्तावाचक्षरलोपश्च । Pāṇini perhaps does not know this form. The Saṃhitās have only the older one, namely turiya which Pāṇini also seems to have in his language. Cf. R. V. 1. 15. 10 ; 1.164. 4.

1. When used independently, i. e. when uncompounded this word always means gingili-oil in Āyurveda.

2. 37. 4; 8. 3. 24; 8. 80. 9; 9. 96. 19; 10. 67. 1; 4. 45. 1; 10. 85. 40.

V. S. 8. 3; 27. 20.

S. V. 5. 1. 3.

A. V. 10. 10. 29; 9. 15. 27; 20. 91. 1.

P. 5. 2. 122., V. 2-11. We are here introduced by Kātyāyana to some new affixes. They are: āraṇ, inac, cālu, elu, ūluc, and tap. Among the words formed with these terminations marutta and phalina occur in the Vedic language.

Marutta : Ait. Br.: 8. 21; S. Br. 13. 5. 4. 6.

Phalina : A. V.: 3. 15. 4.

P. 6. 1. 3., V. 2. This Vārtika says that the third of *irṣyati* is reduplicated. It is not clear whether by 'third' Kātyāyana means the third syllable or the third consonant. Perhaps this ambiguity itself gives room for the option which we have when we come to Patañjali who says :

केचित्तावदाहुरेकाच इति । ईर्ष्यिषिपति । अपर आह व्यञ्जनस्येति ।
ईर्ष्यिषिपति ।

P. 6. 1. 3., V. 3. This Vārtika gives us *kaṇḍūyiyiṣati*, etc. (desiderative forms of certain denominative roots). Verbal forms of this kind in which terminations are piled on one another cannot have existed in Pāṇini's language which in Liebich's words, was "syntaktisch so gut wie identisch mit der sprache der Brāhmaṇas und Sūtras". The forms given by Kātyāyana here can, on the authority of this Vārtika which Patañjali does not reject, be reasonably supposed to have existed in his (Kātyāyana's) language. But one finds oneself at a loss to understand some later commentators who without observing any restriction, go on adding termination after termination to verbal forms. For instance, in the Pratyaya mālāprakaraṇa of the Siddhāntakaumudī Bhaṭṭoji gives even a quaternary derivative like *bobhūyiṣayiṣati* (बोब्सन्प्यन्तास्सन्). The intensive of *bhū* is *bobhūya*; to this is added the desiderative 'sa'—*bobhūyiṣa*; from this a causative is derived—*bobhūyiṣa*; from this again a desiderative—*bobhūyiṣayiṣa*! All this is nothing but a dry and insensible theorization. We can boldly say that if one were to explore the whole range over which words are used, namely (to¹ follow

1. See the Mahābhāṣya, Vol. 1, p. 9 (Kielhorn's edition).

Patañjali) the earth with its seven continents, the three worlds, the four Vedas with their Aṅgas and Upaniṣads in their various recensions, the one hundred branches of the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda in its one thousand modes, the Ṛgveda in its twenty-one recensions, and the Atharvaveda in nine, Vākovākya, the Epics, the Purāṇas, and the Vaidyaka, one would not be able to trace bobhūyīṣayiṣati anywhere else than in the works of the later grammarians. I have dealt with this subject in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XIV, Part III, pp. 204 ff.

P. 6. 1. 3., V. 4. The reduplication of the third syllable is made optional by this Vārtika in the case of the denominative roots. A further extension of this latitude is seen in the following Mahābhāṣya on this.

अपर आह यथेष्टं वा । यथेष्टं वा नामधातूनामिति ।

पुपुत्रीयिपति । पुतित्रीयिपति । पुत्रीयिपति ॥

S. C.¹ Vasu gives पुत्रीयिपति also and adds : " Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as पुपुतित्रीयिपति । He does not give any authority for this. Patañjali, we have just seen, approves only three forms. Bhaṭṭoji clearly explains the above Mahābhāṣya as follows :—

²आद्यानां त्रयाणामन्यतमस्य द्वित्वमित्यर्थः ।

अजादेस्त्वाद्येतरस्य ॥

P. 6. 1. 12., V. 5-7. Among the words explained by this Vārtika, namely cakra, ciklida, cakrasa, carācara, calācalā, patāpata, vadāvada, ghanāghana and pāṭupāṭa, the last but one, i. e. ghanāghana occurs in the Saṃhitās.

R. V. 10. 103. 1.

V. S. 17. 33.

A. V. 19. 13.

The Vārtikas on the third Pāda of the sixth chapter explain some Aluk-Samāsas, i. e. compounds in which there is no elision of the case affix of the former member, which are not given by Pāṇini. Here are a few examples.

P. 6. 3. 1., V. 5. Goṣu-cara.

P. 3. 1., V. 6. Varṣāsuja.

1. Translation of the Siddhāntakaumudī, Vol. 2, Part I, p. 607.

2. See the Siddhāntakaumudī on this.

- P. 6. 3. 1., V. 7-8.* Apsuyoni; apsavya; apsumati; apsuja; apsucara; gahvareṣṭha.
- P. 6. 3. 2., V. 1.* Brāhmaṇacchamsin.
T. Br. 1. 7. 6. 1.
Śat. Br. 9. 4. 3. 7.
- P. 6. 3. 3., V. 1.* Añjasākṛta.
- P. 6. 3. 3., V. 2.* Pumsānuja; januṣāndha.
- P. 6. 3. 5., V. 1.* Ātmanāpañcama; ātmanādaśama.
- P. 6. 3. 8., V. 1.* Ātmanebhāṣa; parasmaibhāṣā.
- P. 6. 3. 9., V. 1.* Hṛdisprk; divisprk.
- P. 6. 3. 11., V. 1.* Anteguru.
- P. 6. 3. 21., V. 1.* Vācocyukti; diśodaṇḍa; paśyatohara.
- P. 6. 3. 21., V. 2.* Āmuṣyāyaṇa; āmuṣyaputrikā.
- P. 6. 3. 21., V. 3.* Devānāmpriya.
- P. 6. 3. 21., V. 4-5.* Śunaḥśepa; śunaḥpuccha; śunolāṅgūla; divodāsa.

Among these Aluka-Samāsas the following two are found in the Samhitās :

Śunaḥśepa : R. V. 1. 24. 12. 13.

Divodāsa : S. V. (Pūrva) 5. 1. 12.

„ „ (Uttara) 5. 6. 2.

P. 6. 3. 70., V. 1-9. etc. These Vārtikas teach the insertion of 'm' in certain words of which two, namely agnimindha and lokampraṇa occur in the Vedic language.

Agnimindha : R. V. 1. 162. 5.

V. S. 25. 28.

Lokampraṇa : Śat. Br. 8. 7. 2. 1; 8. 5. 4. 8; 8. 7. 2. 6;
8. 7. 2. 7; 8. 7. 2. 8; 8. 7. 2. 2; 9. 4. 3. 5;
10. 4. 2. 18; 10. 4. 3. 12; 10. 5. 4. 5.

P. 6. 3. 109., V. 1-5. In this Sūtra Pāṇini says that we have to accept on authoritative usage such compounds as prṣodara, gūḍdhotmā, etc., which embody irregular phonetic changes. Under this rule Kātyāyana adds the following words ;
Dakṣiṇatāra (for dakṣiṇatira); Vāḍvali; ṣoḍan; ṣoḍaśa;
ṣoḍhā; ṣaḍdhā; dūḍāśa; dūṇāśa; dūḍabha; dūḍhya.

15. Taranatha Tarkavacaspati's edition of the S. Kaumudī wrongly gives them as Gaṇa Sūtras. See Vol. I, p. 427 (Calcutta, 1870).

We need concern ourselves here only with the last four which attaches some historical interest. In the next Vārtik (P. 6. 3. 109., V. 6) Kātyāyana says 'chandasi'. It is therefore clear that according to him, the occurrence of these words is not confined to the Vedic language. But they are not found in the extant classical literature. Two of them, namely dūḍhya and dūḍhabha occur in the Vedic language.

Dūḍhabha : V. S. 3. 36.

Dūḍhya : S. V. (Purva) 2. 2. 7.

The Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya also has the rules उकारं दुर्दे (3.4) and नाशे च (3. 43). On the latter Uvvaṭa remarks :

मृग्यमुहरणम् ।

A note on the Prṣodarādi Gaṇa may be added. According to the Munitraya, the words entitled to be included in the Gaṇa are compounds containing anomalous phonetic changes which are not explained otherwise; but later commentators who, whenever they find a word difficult to explain, put it in some Ākṛti Gaṇa, have made all sorts of additions to the Prṣodarādi group.

We have now in this Gaṇa such words as bṛsī, siṃha, haṃsa etc. In the Siddhāntakaumudī Bhaṭṭoji gives the etymology of bṛsī as follows :—

ब्रुवन्तोऽस्यां सीदन्तीति बृसी ।¹

He gives a verse also in which siṃha, haṃsa, etc., are explained.

भवेद्वर्णागमाद्धंसो सिंहो वर्णविपर्ययात्

गूढोत्सा वर्णविकृतेर्वर्णलोपात्पृषोदरम् ॥

This is really doing an injustice to Pāṇini who (See paper—Authorship of the Uṇādisūtras in Festschrift Prof. P. Kane) is an Avyutpattivādin. In fact, haṃsa is an Uṇādi word. The other two words, namely, siṃha and bṛsī also deserve to be Uṇādis and not Prṣodarādis. Moreover, Patañjali does not refer to Varṇaviparyaya when on this Sūtra he remarks :—

येषु लोपांगमवर्णविकाराः श्रूयन्ते न चोच्यन्ते ।

It is not clear who is primarily responsible for these additions. In the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi Vardhamāna seeks to justify their inclusion in the Prṣodarādi class as follows :—

1. See P. 6. 3. 109.

2. III, 349.

येषामुणादिशास्त्रेण व्युत्पत्तिर्न प्रकल्प्यते ।
 द्वित्रादिपदसंपर्कात्सा तेषां स्यान्निरुक्तिः ॥
 समासशेषभूतं स्यान्निरुक्तपदसाधनम् ।
 द्वित्रादिपदसंपर्काल्लोपागमविकारजम् ॥

उणादिशास्त्रे मयूरमहिषप्रभृतीनां व्युत्पादितानामपि पुनरत्र व्युत्पादनमनेक-
 धापि संज्ञाशब्दानां व्युत्पत्तिर्भवतीति प्रदर्शनार्थम् ।

In his commentary² on the Siddhāntakaumudī Taranatha Tarkavacaspati adds to this Gaṇa also the words explained in the Kārikā :—

लुम्पेदवश्यमः कृत्ये तुम् काममनसोरपि ।
 समो वा हितततयोर्मासस्य पचियुजघग्नोः ॥

The inclusion of these words among Pṛṣodarādis is against Vārtikas P. 6. 1. 144., 1–3 which explain them otherwise.

Similarly, in the Mayūrādi Gaṇa (P. 2. 1. 72) we have now such compounds as ehīḍa, snātvākālaka, niścrapra, jahijoḍa, etc. The example given by Pāṇini, namely mayūravyaṃsaka illustrates only those compounds in which the positions of the Viśeṣaṇa and the Viśeṣya are inversed e. g., chātravyaṃsaka, kāmbojamuṇḍa, etc., but, strangely enough, most of the compounds that we have in the present Mayūravyaṃsakādi are of a different type, having been included therein for different purposes. It is very doubtful whether they originally belonged to this Gaṇa.

It must also be noted that Pāṇini is a very systematic grammarian. To him Gaṇa means a group of words which, being covered usually by one Sūtra, can be subjected to a common treatment. The object of adopting the Gaṇas is only to secure brevity in the Sūtras. But in Vardhamāna's Gaṇaratnamahodadhi which we now accept as our guide to the Gaṇas, we see a clear departure from the principles followed by Pāṇini. Words explained by different Sūtras and Vārtikas are often grouped together in this work into one class simply for the reason that they embody a common phenomenon. Instead of helping us to decide whether a Sūtra like कारस्करो वृक्षे (P. 6. 1, 156) which some read in the Pāraskara Gaṇa, is a Gaṇa Sūtra or an Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtra, Vardhamāna adds perplexity to confusion.

1. 149.

2. Vol. I, p. 477 (Calcutta, 1870)

Cf. Gaṇaratnamahodadhi 150 :

पारस्करो देशविशेषवर्ती कारस्करो राजतरौ गिरौ च ।

नद्यां रथस्या प्रमितौ तु किष्कुः प्रतिष्कशः पृष्ठसहायदूते ॥,

and ff. with Pāṇini 6. 1. 143 ff.

No other appendix to the Aṣṭādhyāyī seems to have undergone so many changes as the Gaṇapāṭha—especially the Ākṣaṇḍī Gaṇas. This is a subject in which no research worth the name has as yet been done. Each Gaṇa, if fully explored, will, I am sure, tell us its own story.

P. 7. 3. 45., V. 6. The word tārakā which Kātyāyana gives in this Vārtika occurs in both the Atharva Veda (5. 17. 4) and the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (24. 10) in the meaning specified by him.

P. 7. 3. 45., V. 8. Kātyāyana says : वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचाम्. The other form, namely, vartikā (meaning some bird) occurs in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (24. 30., 24. 20) which is probably his own Śākhā.

P. 7. 3. 45., V. 9. Aṣṭakā explained in this Vārtika is found in A, V. 15. 16. 2.

P. 7. 3. 45., V. 2. Kātyāyana says: पावकादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्
Pāvaka: R. V. 3. 31. 20; 4. 51. 2; 7. 49. 2.

P. 7. 3. 45., V. 10. 'Ittva', i. e. the substitution of 'i' for 'a' of 'ṭāp' becomes optional in sūtakā, putrakā and vāḍarakā in Kātyāyana's time. The Atharva Veda (8. 6. 19) has sūtikā. Probably forms with 'i' are older than those with 'a'.

P. 8. 1. 12., V. 3-12. Dvittva, i. e. repetition of words is allowed here by Pāṇini only in the case of Guṇavacanas which express Prakāra (Bheda or Sādrśya), e. g., paṭuḥ paṭuḥ; but Kātyāyana allows it in the case of words which express Āneṣṭi pūrva, Cāpala, etc.

P. 8. 1. 15., V. 1. According to the Vārtikakāra, the term dvandva is employed also in reference to 'Atyantasahacarita' and 'Lokavijñāta', e. g., द्वन्द्वं स्कन्दविशाखौ । द्वन्द्वं नारदपर्वतौ ।

P. 8. 2. 17., V. 1-2. Kātyāyana accounts for the words rathītara and bhūridāvattara.

Rathītara: R. V. 6. 45. 15; 6. 56. 2; 6. 56. 3; 8. 45. 7; 8. 61. 12; 9. 66. 26.

S. V. (B) 5. 11. 2.

„ (५) 3. 5. 1.

V. S. 12. 56; 15. 61; 17. 61.

Bhūridāvattara: R. V. 8. 5. 39.

Besides the above differences, the following may be noted:

P. 2. 2. 34., V. 2. Pāṇini: Paṭumṛduśuklāḥ.

Kātyāyana: Paṭumṛduśuklāḥ or
Paṭuśuklamṛdavaḥ.

P. 2. 3. 69., V. 3. Pāṇini: Dāsīm kāmukaḥ

Kātyāyana: Dāsyaḥ kāmukaḥ.

P. 3. 1. 22., V. 6-7. Pāṇini: Kuṭīlam krāmāti and carīkramyate
(intensive) are convertible.

Kātyāyana: They are not convertible.

P. 3. 1. 118., V. 1.

Pāṇini: Pratigṛhya and apigṛhya occur in Chandas as well
as in Bhāṣā.

Kātyāyana: Their use is confined to Chandas, the forms
employed in Bhāṣā being pratigrāhya and apigrāhya.

P. 3. 1. 124., V. 1-3.

Pāṇini: Pāṇisṛjyā; samavasṛjyā; apalāpyam; avadabhyam.

Kātyāyana: Pāṇisargyā; samavasargyā; apalāpyam; ava-
dābhyam.

P. 4. 1. 36.

Pāṇini: Pūtakratāyī, etc., even in the absence of Pūmyoga.

Kātyāyana: These are correct only when there is Pūmyoga,
not otherwise.

P. 4. 1. 49., V. 4.

Pāṇini: There is only upādhyāyī.

Kātyāyana: There is also Upādhyāyānī in the same sense.

P. 4. 1. 49., V. 7.

Pāṇini: There are only kṣatriyā and āryā. Both occur in
the R. V.

Kṣatriyā: R. V. 8. 25. 8; 7. 64. 2.

Āryā: R. V. 4. 30. 18; 6. 38. 3; 9. 63. 14; 10. 65. 11.

Kātyāyana: Also āryānī and kṣatriyānī.

P. 4. 1. 39., V. 1.

Pāṇini: Asiknī and paliknī. Occur in the R. V.

Asiknī: R. V. 7. 5. 3.

Paliknī: R. V. 5. 2. 4.

Kātyāyana : Only asitā and palitā in Bhāṣā.
P. 4. 1. 39., V. 3.

Pāṇini : Piśaṅgā. Occurs in R. V. 10. 136. 2.

Kātyāyana : Both piśaṅgā and piśaṅgī.

Conclusions.

Now, the conclusions that we can draw from the foregoing examination of the representative Vārtikas are these :

1. The reasons which make Kātyāyana write the Vārtika on the Aṣṭādhyāyī are the same as those which make Patañjali write the Mahābhāṣya, namely historical and academic : it is not his intention to point out Pāṇini's shortcomings. But the method adopted by him in supplementing Pāṇini's work is quite different from that adopted by the masterly genius Patañjali whose critical acumen overshadows the Vārtikakāra to a great extent ; and it is this difference in method that has not been understood correctly by some who have not looked below the surface. If Kātyāyana is studied independently of Patañjali not a single Vārtika would be regarded as superfluous.

2. Sanskrit underwent tremendous changes in the interval between the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Vārtikas ; the interval must have been sufficiently long ; such changes do not usually occur in a language which is not¹ spoken, for we know that the vocabulary of Sanskrit has undergone little change after it ceased to be a spoken language. It must be noted that like Pāṇini Kātyāyana also refers to Bhāṣā, e. g., मापायां शासियुधिदशियपि युच्. (P. 3. 3. 139., V. 1.)

Pāṇini could not have ignored such a large number of words if they existed in his language ; for I believe with R. G. Bhandarkar² that though not absolutely infallible, Pāṇini is certainly not an indifferent grammarian. The only reasonable conclusion is that Sanskrit, being the spoken language in this period (

1. T. W. Rhys Davids thinks that Sanskrit was not a spoken language in this period. See *Buddhist India*, pp. 134 ff; Vide Franke, *Pāli and Sanskrit*, Strassburg (1902). Cf. Pathak, *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XI (1929), pp. 59 ff; Kieth, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Preface, pp. 26-27; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* I, pp. 44 and 512.

2. See *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 272.

the interval between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana), had undergone numerous changes.

Pathak¹ is inclined to believe that Sanskrit preserved its accent till Kumārila's time ; but the evidence adduced by him in support of his view is not satisfactory. Neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali throws any light on this problem, all their discussions relating to accent being only of a theoretical nature. There are a number of Vārtikas on the 6th chapter of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, dealing with accent. Both Kātyāyana and Patañjali have in this chapter very often the remark स्वरदोषः स्यात् ।

Here are a few examples :

P. 6. 1. 108, V. 8. स्वरदोषस्तु ।

P. 6. 1. 123, V. 1 अवङ्गदेशे हि स्वरदोषः ।

P. 6. 1. 135, V. 12 अमक्ते स्वरः ।

P. 6. 3. 78, V. 2 सादेशे हि स्वरे दोषः ।

In instances of this type both Kātyāyana and Patañjali point out that if the rule in question is misconstrued in such and such a way, it would affect the accent of the word concerned. This clearly shows a conservative spirit in preserving what in their Bhāṣā was a mere theoretical or grammatical entity and not a living reality. The term doṣa here, as in the Dharmaśāstra, means deviation from a practice established by tradition and authority. Vārtikas and Patañjali's statements of this kind indicate that accent in their Bhāṣā had only a theoretical existence ; it was only of academic interest. They do not help us to answer the question—'Was the Bhāṣā of their times accented' ? On the other hand, the development of the Bhāṣikasvara in certain branches of Vedic literature which, as evidence stands at present, was undoubtedly post-Pāṇinian, points out that accent after Pāṇini's time was fast on its decadence and is therefore likely to go against Pathak's conclusion. This is a subject which has not as yet received the attention that it deserves from philologists. The Bhāṣikasvara is an accent resulting from the levelling down of the Udātta and the levelling up of the Anudātta. Here we have the beginning of a process which gradually seeks to do away with these differences in pitch. The etymology of the

1. Annals of the Bhandarkar, O. R. I., Vol. XI, pp. 59 ff.

word suggests that this accent had its origin in Bhāṣā or spoken language. In a verse quoted by Ananta Bhaṭṭa at the end of his commentary on the Bhāṣika sūtra, it is defined as follows :

¹उदात्तः स्वर्यते नीचो नीच उच्चस्वरो भवेत् ।

ब्राह्मणस्य स्वरो ह्येव ज्ञायते वेदपारगैः ॥

In Kātyāyana's Bhāṣikapariśiṣṭasūtra also we have :

²उदात्तानुदात्तौ भाषिकस्तत्सन्धिः ।

The Kātyāyana's Śrautasūtra and its commentary also say that this is the Svara of the Brāhmaṇas (meaning at least of that belonging to their Śākhā).

It is therefore impossible to believe that Sanskrit preserved its accent until Kumārila's time; for we see that the Bhāṣikasvara had in the time of the Śrautasūtra already made its appearance even in some Brāhmaṇas. The Bhāṣikasvara, as has already been pointed out, was a slow but sure attempt to get freed from the Udātta and the Anudātta.

3. Pāṇini omits a large number of Vedic words—not only those occurring in the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which Vedic works are regarded by some as post-Pāṇinian, but also those occurring in the R̥gVeda and the Sāmā Veda. There is no evidence to believe that Pāṇini intends his work to be a Vedāṅga text.⁴

1. See A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss., A. S. B., Vol. II No. 1494.

2. 1.4.

3. 1.8.17. Weber's ed.

4. See my paper—The Paspasā, Journal of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 5.

IMPORTANCE OF ACCENT IN THE VEDAS

(S. R. Sehgal)

In speech we neither stress the whole of a sentence nor all letters of a word what we emphasise is the particular syllable of a word. This emphasis on the part of a word is called accent. But for its proper understanding the true mystery of linguistic world remains unexplored and unfathomed. We take for instance 'concert', a word from English. Accent on the first syllable implies musical entertainment whereas stress on the last syllable means arrangement. Mādhava Bhaṭṭa—the well-known author of R̥gvedānukramaṇī has remarkably put forth the truth in the following lines :—

प्रकृतौ प्रत्यये वापि स्वरो यत्र व्यवस्थितः ।

तात्पर्यन्तत्र शब्दस्य स्थापयेदिति निश्चयः । (I. IV 10)¹

“The import of a word lies on its accented syllable whether it may fall on the stem or the suffix.”

Again Mammaṭa, while explaining Abhidhāmūlā Vyañjanā, has quoted the following verses of Bhartṛ Hari :—

संयोगो विप्रयोगश्च साहचर्यं विरोधिता ।

अर्थः प्रकरणं लिङ्गं शब्दस्यान्यस्य सन्निधिः ॥

सामर्थ्यमौचिती देशः कालो व्यक्तिः स्वरादयः ।

शब्दार्थस्यानवच्छेदे विशेषस्मृतिहेतवः ॥ (कान्यप्रकाश, II).

Here the comment of the celebrated rhetorician is worth quoting :—

1. Ed. Prof. Kunhan Raja of Madras Univer. Skt. Series 2, 1932.

Compare — तीव्रार्थतरमुदात्तम् । अल्पीयोऽर्थतरमनुदात्तम् (निरुक्त. ४, २५)

Also — अन्धकारे दीपिकाभिर्गच्छन्न स्खलति क्वचित् ।

एवं स्वरैः प्रणीतानां भवन्त्यर्थाः स्फुटा इति ।

(ऋग्वेदानुक्रमणी १, ५, २)

Cf. 'Knowledge of accent must be often indispensable to a right knowledge of the meaning of words in Sanskrit' Monier Williams. Skt. English Dictionary (1899) Intro. Page XVIII.

इन्द्रशत्रुरित्यादौ वेद एव न काव्ये स्वरो विशेषप्रतीतिकृत् ।¹

i.e. Accent has a particular significance in the Vedas named 'Indra-Śatru'. It has no bearing on काव्य. 'Indra-Śatru' is expounded in two ways: namely as a बहुव्रीहि and as a षष्ठीतत्पुरुष. In the former case पूर्वपदस्वर is sanctioned by 'बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपद' (Pā. VI. 2. 1) whereas in the latter अन्तोदात्त is supported by समासस्य (Pā. VI. 1. 223).

It has been indisputably held by Vedic Scholiasts that as employed by sages was one of the safeguards in the Vedic Literature. It is mainly to this very factor that the purity and authenticity of Ṛgveda Saṃhitā is due. Handed down from hoary and untold ages exclusively by oral tradition the Premier Saṃhitā has not suffered the fate which the texts of our late works such as the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Śākuntala drama, nay even the Rāmacaritamānasa of Tulasī Dāsa have suffered in historical epochs. Vedic expositions help us very poorly without a sound knowledge of accent. We take some concrete examples for elucidating our argument.

In the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā we read the following passage :—

अथैषा मास्तु पृश्निर्वशा देवाश्च वा असुराश्च अस्मिःलोके आसन् । नेमे देवे नेमेऽसुरास्ते देवा एतां मास्तीं पृश्निं वशाम् अपश्यन् । ताम् आलभन्त तया लोके द्वितीयम् अवृज्जत । असुरलोकं यस्य अवद्यन्ति स देवलको यस्य नावद्यन्ति सोऽसुरलोकः । (14. 9)

In the above quoted passage Dr. Simon²—the compiler of Index verborum to the said Saṃhitā has treated the word 'नेमे' as a past perfect form from √नम्, a vedic departure in place of 'नेमिरे'. As a matter of fact 'नेमे' meaning half is a pronoun and is clear from Pāṇini.³ Simon's misunderstanding is due to the unaccented form. As a rule verbal forms lose their accent

1. Cf. the annotation of कर्मप्रदीपकार :—

स्वरस्तूदात्तादिवेदे बाहुल्येनार्थप्रतीतिकृद्दृश्यते । तद्यथा । 'इन्द्रशत्रो वर्धस्व' इति अत्रेन्द्रशत्रो इत्यस्यान्तोदात्तत्वे षष्ठी तत्पुरुषव्यक्ताविन्द्रस्य शातनकर्मत्वं लभ्यते । पदान्तोदात्तत्वे च इन्द्रः शातयिता यस्येति बहुव्रीहिलाभादिन्द्रस्य शातनकर्तृत्वं लभ्यते इति । काव्यमाला २४, Bombay 1912.

2. Index Verborum zu Kāṭhaka Ausgabe Leipzig 1912. Kāṭhakam-Saṃhitā der Kāṭhaka Śākhā. Leipzig 1900-10.

3. (Vide प्रथमचर.....कतिपयनेमाश्च (Pā. I. 1. 33).

they are accented in the beginning of a पाद. 'नेमे' as a pronoun is always unaccented. Had it been a verbal form it should have been accented as it occurs in the beginning of a sentence.

Again 'आसनिषून् (Kāthaka Samhitā' 5:5.21) is another case in question. The learned author has treated it as two words in his compilation. 'आसन्' is registered with आस्य meaning mouth and इषून् under इषु. Drs. Böhtlingk and Roth—the compilers of 'Sanskrit Wörterbuch' record 'Pfeil in Munde Führend signifying it as one word. Monier Williams too in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary records its meaning as 'having arrows in his mouth'.

From the above meaning it is very clear that this is a compound word and not two distinct terms. This is *prima facie* a case of बहुव्रीहि which enjoins पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वर. This is not all. The term originally belongs to Rgveda (1. 84. 6.) where the पदपाठ स्वर and other aids are available. There is a sign of अवग्रह which is generally employed between the components of a compound. Accent also occurs singularly in the first member of the unit. Sāyaṇa paraphrases it as a possessive compound. All these points go to show that Simon misunderstood the term simply due to lack of accentuation.

'इदं मधुरम्' is a third specimen in this category. It reads as follows :—

“समृद्धयै इदं मधुरं गायन्तीः संनद्धकवचाः परियन्ति महाव्रतमेव महयन्ति अथो सेन्द्रताया एव ब्रह्मणो वा अन्या त्विपिः क्षत्रस्यान्या यद्वीक्षितोऽधिकृष्णाजिनस्य ब्रह्मणस्त्विपर्यत्सन्नद्धकवचोऽधिज्यधनुस्सा क्षत्रस्य त्विपिस्तदुभयं भवति । ”
(Kāthaka Samhitā 34. 5).

Simon takes it as two words. The perusal of above-cited text throws little light on the nature of the term. However a comparative study of other recensions, the context and other aids here too go to prove that this a compound term.

In the Taittirīya Samhitā we read the following :—

“उदकुम्भानधिनिधाय दास्यो मार्जालीयं परिनृत्यन्ति पदो निघ्नन्ती-
रिदं मधुं गायन्त्यो मधु वै देवानां परममन्नाद्यं परममेवान्नाद्यमवर्तुन्वते पदो
निघ्नन्ति महीयानेवैषु दधति । ” (7. 5. 8. 10)

From the above it follows that 'इदं मधु' is one word. But Bhaṭṭabhāskara and Sāyaṇa—are in favour of it. The word 'इदं मधु' is the same as 'इदं मधुरम्' of the Kāthaka Saṃhitā.¹

Such variations are well known in the Vedic texts.² Agastya Simon treats 'अर्वाकः'³ as a single word, which occurs in 11, 2 of the same Saṃhitā. But these are two words. 'अर्वा' is a noun and 'अकः' is an aorist form from √कृ—to do. The whole of the verse occurs in the Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā in 11, 20. Where the Vedic aids point to the same conclusion.

1. उदकुम्भानित्युद-कुम्भान् । अधि-निधायेत्यधिनिधाय । दास्य-
मार्जालीयम् । परीति । नृत्यन्ति । पदः । निघ्नतीति नि-घ्नतीः ।
मधुमितीदं-मधुम् । गायन्त्यः । मधु । वै । देवानाम् । परमम् । अना-
मित्यन्न-अद्यम् । परमम् । एव । अनाद्यमित्यन्न-अद्यम् । अवेति रुन्वे-
पदः । नीति । घ्नन्ति । महीयान् । एव । एषु । दधति ।

"इदं मधु गायन्त्यः । इदं मधु, इदं मधु" इत्येवं गायन्त्यः केचिदाहुः "वाव सरथा तस्या अभिरेव सारघं मधु" इति (तैत्रा. ३, ३, १०, १;) इत्यादि मन्त्र (महभास्कर)

इदं मधु—इत्येवं शब्दं गायन्त्यः । अथवा इदमेव सारघं मध्वत्यादि मन्त्र गायन्त्यः 'मधु च देवानामत्यन्तं प्रियम् अन्नम् अतस्तद्धानेन परमम् अन्नं प्राप्नुवन्ति । (सायण ।)

'इदं मधु'—As one word Vide. PB. 5. 6. 15. (Bis).

Vaitāna Śrauta 34—9 (ter) 10 (bis) Āpastambha Śrauta 21, 19, 18, 19. (bis) for Syntactical Compound vgl. Macdonell's Vedic Grammar Compare the foot-notes of the big edition of the same. 213² 189. b.

2. Cf. ब्रह्मद्वेषः (ऋसं. ८, ४५, २३) but ब्रह्मद्विषम् (सांसं. २, ८२). वाचः (कपिष्ठलसं. ४, ६) but ते वाचो (काठकसं. ६, ७) भामितः (ऋसं. ११४, ८) but भामिनः (वाजसं. १६, १६) For detail vide 'Vedic Variants' M. Bloomfield.

3. उत् । अक्रमीत् । द्रविणोदाऽइति द्रविणोदा । वाजी । अर्वा । अ-
रित्यकः । सुलोकम् । सुकृतिमिति सुकृतम् । पृथिव्याम् । (वाजसं. ११, २०)

अर्वा — अरणशीलः । अकः— कृतवान् (उन्वट)

Vide other cases of inaccuracy in Simon बृहद्वयः (काठसं. ४४, ४५) for two words as बृहत् । वयः. Cf. compare वाजसं. २३. ११; तैसं. ७, ४, १६ मैसं. ३, १२, १९. द्रायू (काठसं. ५, ५) for two words compare शतब्रा. ३, ४, १०; मैसं. १, ४, २.

In short the non-marking of accentuation is responsible for these errors. Patañjali is therefore right when he remarks in unequivocal terms :—

याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति । स्थूलपृषतीमाग्निं वारुणीमनुद्वहीम् आलभेतेति । तस्यां च सन्देहः । स्थूला चासौ पृषती च स्थूलपृषती तां नावैयाकरणः स्वरतोऽध्यवस्यति । यदि पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं ततो बहुवीहिः । अथान्तोदात्तत्वं ततस्तत्पुरुषः ।

Moreover :—

दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा
मिथ्या प्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति
यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् । (१, १, १)

Accent was originally employed for economy. Longwordedness is always irksome. Brevity is the soul of wit. Hindu Grammarians practised and propagated it in their works. Hindu Scientists have formulated their different systems in short algebraic aphorisms. When there are two words having common form but meaning different objects accent is the safest aid to mark out that meaning. For example we take आशा¹ and आशा.² The former means 'quarters' where as the latter signifies 'hope'. Instances may be multiplied but it is sufficient to note that accent is an aid to memory in such cases.

Naturally a question arises as to what are the accentually marked texts.³ The first group of such texts consists of wholly accented ones. These are Ṛgveda Saṃhitā, Mādhyandina Saṃhitā, Kāṇva Saṃhitā, Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, Kauthuma Saṃhitā, and Śaunaka Saṃhitā. The second group is formed of Kāthaka Saṃhitā and Paippalāda Saṃhitā. Both these Saṃhitās have got stray marking of accent. Jaiminiya Saṃhitā and Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā comprise the third division. Among the Brāhmaṇas

1. तैब्रा. १, १, ७, १; २, ५, ७, १; ३, १२, २, २.

2. „ ३, ४, १८, १; १२, २, २, २. for detailed study see Brugmann's Grundriss Vol II p. 28-9. Also—Lanmann's 'Noun Inflection in the Veda' JOAS, 1880, p. 358 And Indische studien Vol IV p. 160.

3. Indische Grammatik. W. D. Whitney paras 87-9.

'Vedic Grammar' Macdonell. page. 450-51.

Śatapatha (both Mādhyandina) and Kāṇva, and Taittirīya have got regular accentuation-marking. Barring the Taittirīy-āraṇyaka no other Āraṇyaka is marked.

In view of the great utility of accentual system there grew up a separate branch of learning known as Śikṣās or Prātiśākhya. These are defined as लक्षणग्रन्थः on Vedic Literature. Every Śākhā has developed its own individual Śikṣā or Prātiśākhya. These works throw light on the complex problem of their own respective Śākhā, and deal with individual study of words.

Last but not least is the staggering work of the great Pāṇini. His is a unique attempt as far as classical Language is concerned. In Vedic Literature too it presents a more perfect picture than the remaining data of Prātiśākhya literature. It is a compendium on the accentual treatises.

Later on Pāṇini's Sūtras required elucidation and responsive efforts were made by Śrī Jayakṛiṣṇa. This commentary is itself a high tribute to the great scholarship of the said Paṇḍit. He has very remarkably explained the sūtras in a scientific way. 'Svarsiddhānta Candrikā'¹ is another attempt by Śrīyājñan, a native of the South. His treatment is more critical than that of Śrī Jayakṛiṣṇa. He quotes several passages from the Taittirīy Saṃhitā—and Brāhmaṇas and criticizes his predecessors.

Some commentaries on Vedic texts record stray cases of the accentual system. The commentaries of Bhaṭṭabhāskara on the Taittirīy Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa remain unsurpassed both in his grammatical and accentual treatments. He writes in concise, precise and lucid language. His approach is not exhaustive but more accurate than that of any other commentator of Vedic texts. He supports his enumerations by Sūtras, Vārtikas and Iṣṭis of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali respectively. He is a living economist among grammarians.

Sāyaṇa is rightly called the saviour of Vedic Literature. He combined in himself the genius of Politics and Letters. But for his timely devotion to Vedic lore we would have found ourselves helpless in digging out the Vedic Wealth. Above all our indebtedness to Sāyaṇa is more due to his exhaustive treatment

1. K. A. Shiva Ramkrishna Shastri. Annuamalai University Series No. 4. 1936.

of accent in the first Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda. It is a key to the Vedic system.

In their celebrated annotations both Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara and Sāyaṇa have made mark. But some errors are human. Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara while annotating 'अपः' (Ts. 1. 5. 11. 4.) as actions (कर्माणि) has gone against all Vedic canons. Nowhere is seen 'अपः' अन्तोदात्त meaning actions. It is water which is implied. The context also speaks in favour of our proposition.

In Ts 1. 4. 45. '2. We read 'देवकृतम्'. He explains it as सप्तमीतत्पुरुष समास (Pā. VI. 2. 2.) which enjoins accent on the first word but the desired meaning of the poet is otherwise. To him it is बहुव्रीहि (Pā. VI. 2. 1), where accent is also explainable. In (Ts. 3. 2. 5. 7.) the same passage occurs where the annotator explains it according to बहुव्रीहि compound.²

In Ts. 1. 3. 14. 5. there occurs 'सुष्टुति' having accent on the last syllable. Bhaṭṭabhāskara explains it according to "मन्किन्... (Pā. VI. 2. 151) which enjoins accent on the last syllable. But there is recurrence (आवृत्ति), the notion of a case (कारक) and not of गति (prepositions used adnominally). In 'सुष्टुति' 'सु' is गति and not कारक. Hence his approach is against all grammatical sanction. In that case accent may be explained according to किच् suffix which prescribes accent on the last syllable.³

Similarly वोढवे occurs in Ts. 1, 6, 21. This is an example of double accent.

Bhaṭṭabhāskara explains the suffix 'तवे' for तवै as a case of synecdoche (उपलक्षण) in Pāṇini VI. 1. 200.⁴ If his treatment

1. Cf. Rv. 4. 38. 10—for the same passage :—'सूर्यं इव ज्योतिषापस्त-
तान'.

2. देवादिविषये यदस्माभिः कृतमेनः अधर्मः तस्यावयजनं नाशनम् असि ।
क्षेपे इति सप्तम्या समासः सप्तमीपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । यद्वा देवादिभिरस्मद्विषये
यत्कृतमेनः फलं दुःखं तस्यावयजनमसि । तृतीया कर्मणि (Pā. ६, २, ४८) इति
पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । (महभास्कर)

3. चितः —(Pā. ६, १, ६३) अन्त उदात्तः स्यात् ।

4. अन्तश्च तवै युगपत् । तवैप्रत्ययान्तस्याद्यन्तौ युगपदाद्युदात्तौ स्तः ।

Cf. Whitney's Grammatik 94; 972;

Macdonell's Grammar page 452.

may be taken as conclusive बोद्धवे (Ts. 3. 5. 11. 1) having accented on the first syllable remains unexplained. Thus the *onus probandi* lies on Bhaṭṭabhāskara to explain this case.

Sāyaṇa in Rv. 10. 19. 8 treats 'आनिर्वर्तन'¹ as a verbal form. This is again contrary to the laws of accent and Pada-Pāṭha. 'a rule,' when two or more prepositions precede a verbal form the nearest to the verb is accented and the others lose the accent. Here निर्वर्तन³ is a vocative form as is borne out by word-text and the parallel Vedic annotation of Bhaṭṭabhāskara in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā. In Rv. 8. 41. 10 he deals with 'अधिनिर्णिजः'⁴ detaching अधि from निर्णिजः and joining अधि with the remote verb which is opposed to Vedic canons. Pada-text, mark of division and accent all prove as one unit. Similar √भाः (Rv. 1. 128. 2) an aorist subjunctive case from √भृ to be is paraphrased as 'shone'. This is untenable according to the Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya (1. 82.)⁵

Coming to the commentaries of Uvvaṭa and Mahīdhara in the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā we find that accentual treatment has gone into disuse. They seldom throw light on the accentual aspect of a word. At places both of them are found guilty of gross errors.

1. आ । निर्वर्तन । वर्तय । नि । निर्वर्तन । वर्तय । (पदपाठ)

हे गावो यूयमपि प्रसाद्यमानाः । आनिर्वर्तन-आनिर्वर्तध्वम् । आभिमुख्येनावापुः पुनरप्याह । हे मदीयात्मन्, त्वं निर्वर्तय गोसञ्चरणस्थानादपगच्छन्तीर्गा इतोऽभिमुखः कुरु । यूयमपि हे गावः निर्वर्तमानाः सत्याः निर्वर्तन-निर्वर्तध्वम् । (सायण)

2. Whitney's Grammatik para 1083. गतिर्गतौ—(पा. ८, १, १)

अनुदात्तः

3. हे वर्तन—वर्तयितः, आवर्तय—भूतसङ्घातान् प्रवर्तय । किं च हे निर्वर्तन निष्कासक, निर्वर्तय—निष्कासय । भट्टभास्कर । (तैसं. ३, ३, १०, १)

4. यः श्वेतौ अधिनिर्णिजश्चक्रे = यः वरुणः । निर्णिजः—आत्मीयः रश्मीन् । दिवा । श्वेतान् । अधिचक्रे-अधिकरोति । (सायण)

5. यं मातरिश्वा मनवे परावतो देवभाः परावतः । = भारित्वेन रिफितसंज्ञं भवति देवमित्येतत्पूर्वं चेत् ॥

For instance in Vaj. Sam. 7. 46. Mahīdhara detaches 'प्र' from 'प्रदातारम्'¹ and joins it to the nearest verb which is against Vedic tradition.

In short in the Vedic Literature accentual treatment is as indispensable as that of Alaṃkāra in later classical Poetry. The age-long aids of the seers are to be revered in annotating the Vedic texts.

The contributions of Western scholars are indeed great. Roth, Benfey, Whitney, Haug, Wackernagel and others have done yeoman's service in this line. Dr. Macdonell has utilized all this wealth and systematized the whole data in a handy work. The efforts of the East and the West are to be consolidated.



1. अस्मद्राताऽइत्यस्मत् राता । देवत्रेति देवत्रा । गच्छत । प्रदातार-
मिति प्रदातारम् । आ । विशत । (पदपाठ)

हे दक्षिणाः, यूयमस्मद्राताः । रा दाने । अस्माभिः राताः—दत्ताः सत्यो देवत्रा-
देवान् प्रतिगच्छत । तानेत्य तेषां वृत्तिं कृत्वा ततः प्रदातारं प्राविशत यज्ञफलं साधयन्त्यो
यजमानं प्राविशतेत्यर्थः ।

Cf. उव्वट—प्रदातारम्—प्रकर्षेण दातारम् । आविशत यजमानम् ।

DATE OF DHANEŚVARA'S COMMENTARY ON
BĀNA'S CAṆḌĪŚATAKA — A.D. 1309 (ŚAKA 1231).
AND AUFRECHT'S MISTAKEN IDENTITY OF THE
AUTHOR WITH HIS NAME-SAKE, THE AUTHOR
OF A COMMENTARY ON THE ANARGHARĀGHAVA

(P. K. Gode, M.A.)

Aufrecht¹ refers to only one Ms. of the commentary on the *Caṇḍī-S'ataka* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa viz. "Kh. 84". This Ms. is identical with No. 30 of 1873-74 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It consists of about 57 folios and appears to be a copy made in Samvat 1931 i. e. in A. D. 1875 at Vikramapura from some old Ms. which records the date of composition of the commentary of Dhaneśvara. It begins as follows :—

“ स्वस्ति श्रीगणेशभारतीभ्यां नमः ॥ गुरुभ्यश्च ॥
कपोलरोलंबनिराकरेणुर्वैल्लत्कराग्राहति कैतवेन ।
संप्रीणयन्नर्थिजनं धनौघै हरेरंब नामा जयतीह देवः ॥ १ ॥
ब्रह्महंसकनिष्ठादजितहंसकसद्गतिः ।
वाणी वीणावती लोके जयति ब्रह्मसूरसौ ॥ २ ॥
ज्यायान् जयति वाल्मीकि काव्यसृष्टिपितामहः ।
शतकोटिविकीर्णं यश्चारुरामायणं व्यधात् ॥ ३ ॥
जयंति जगदानंदकंदसेकविशारदाः ।
शारदाभ्रप्रतीकाशाः काचिदादिकवेर्गिरः ॥ ४ ॥
गोक्षीरकपूरसुधांशुगौरा माधुर्य्यधुर्य्याजितहारहूराः ।
विद्वन्मनः कर्मणकर्मशूरा बाणस्य वाचः सुकवेर्जयंति ॥ ५ ॥
चंडीशतस्तुतिं बाणः कविर्गाढां प्रणीतवान् ।
व्याख्यां तस्याः सुबोधार्था कुर्मः पदविबोधिनीं ॥ ६ ॥
गृह्णंतिमां सदा संतो संतोष्यतर्मलीमसः ।
स्वच्छमंभो मुनिजनैर्व्याघ्रैरपि निषेव्यते ॥ ७ ॥

The commentary does not contain many references to previous works and authors. My cursory perusal of the Ms. has disclosed the following references :—

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 177.

अमर—fol. 2, 7, 10, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 35, 36, 37

अमरसिंह—fol. 25.

यादवप्रकाश—fol. 8.

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति—fol. 5.

महाभारतसावित्री उपाख्यान—fol. 21.

मार्कण्डेयपुराणे—fol. 19, 27.

'गारुडशास्त्रं जानाति इति नयज्ञः'—fol. 35.

वैजयन्ती—fol. 35.

हलायुध—fol. 1 (in the margin).

कालिदास—fol. 2.

भट्टपादाः—fol. 27.

In the above list the reference to यादवप्रकाश the author of lexicon वैजयन्ती gives us one terminus to the date of Dhaneśvara's commentary viz. "the middle of the 11th Century."¹ This is consistent with the date of composition recorded by the author himself in the colophon of his work which reads as follows :—

fol. 56 a—“आसीन्निर्मलवंशपद्मतरणिः स्वाचारचिंतामणिः ।

सद्विद्यासरणिर्भवाब्धितरणिः श्रीसोमनाथो द्विजः ॥

सूनुस्तस्य धनेश्वरो व्यरचयद्वीकां शिशुद्वोधिनी ।

श्रीचण्डीशतनान्निबाणरचिते कान्ये गभीरतरां ॥ १ ॥

केचिद्वोषदशः परे गुणदशस्त्वन्ये न किञ्चिदशः ।

सर्वे मत्सरमुत्सृजन्तु धिषणां कृत्वा गुणग्राहिणीं ॥

बालानां सुखबोधनाय विहितां व्याख्यामिमां गृह्णतां ।

श्रेयस्यादिति संप्रघार्य मनसा गृह्णन्तु मां सूरयः ॥ २ ॥

श्रीमददशकुरजातिभट्टसोमेश्वरात्मजः ।

धनेश्वरः कृतिवरष्टीकां चण्डीशते व्याधात् ॥ ३ ॥

शाके करेन्दुरामेन्दुमितेत्त्वानन्दवत्सरे

वैशाखशुक्लभूतायां गुरौ चित्राह्नकक्षके ॥ ४ ॥

१३१२३

1. *Kalpadrakośa* (G. O. S. Baroda, 1928) Intro. p. xxvii—

“The author Yādavaprakāśa has been identified with the preceptor, and afterwards a pupil, of Rāmānuja whose lifetime is variously stated as A. C. 1017-1137 or 1055-1137. The *Vaijayanti* appears, therefore, to have been composed about the middle of the 11th Century.”

समाप्तिमगमब्याख्या चण्डीशतविबोधनी ।

पंचदशशतायुक्ता सप्तलपाश्लोकसंख्यया ॥ ५ ॥

The foregoing verses tell us that our commentator Dhaneśvara belonged to "*Daśakura*" caste of Brahmins. His father's name as given in verse 1 is *Somanātha* which is the same as Bhaṭṭa *Someśvara* repeated in verse 3. The composition of the commentary was completed in the year represented by the chronogram कर, इन्दु, राम, इन्दु which is equal to 1312 Śaka. Other particulars regarding the date are (1) month of *Vaiśākha*, (2) *Sukla* or bright fortnight, (3) *Guruvāra* or Thursday and (4) *Chitrā* constellation. The name of the *Samvat* as recorded in verse 4 quoted above is *Ānanda*. According to the normal reading of the chronogram viz., "कर, इन्दु, राम, इन्दु" we get *S'aka* 1312 as the year in which the commentary was completed by the author. The *Samvat* year corresponding to *S'aka* 1312 is *Dhātṛ*¹ and not *Ānanda* as mentioned in the verse mentioned above. This discrepancy between the normal reading of the chronogram and the name of the *Samvat* specified by the author makes our verification of the date quite difficult. I am, therefore, inclined to read the chronogram as "इन्दु, कर, राम, इन्दु" without changing the words of the chronogram but merely by transposing the first two words "कर, इन्दु". This reading gives us Śaka "इन्दु (1), कर (2), राम (3), इन्दु (1) = 1231 Śaka = A.D. 1309. According to *Indian Ephemeris*² we have *Ānanda Samvat* for Śaka 1231 and if my interpretation of the date is correct the date of completion of the commentary by its author Dhaneśvara would be equivalent to *Thursday*,³ 17th or 24th April 1309.

The above chronology for Dhaneśvara's commentary on the *Caṇḍīśataka* leads us to the question of the chronology of the commentary on the drama *Anargharāghava*, the authorship

1. Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, V, p. 383.

2. Vol. IV. p. 220.

3. Ibid.—In the *Sukla pakṣa* of *Vaiśākha* of Śaka 1231 we have two *Thursdays* (17th or 24th April 1309) and as the commentary does not record the exact *tithi* I am unable to determine exactly what *Thursday* is meant by the author. Perhaps the expression "चित्राह नक्षत्रे" may be of some use in determining what *Thursday* is meant by our author. Possibly *Thursday* 24th April 1309 is the exact date of the work.

of which seems to have been ascribed by Aufrecht¹ to our Dhaneśvara. Let us now see if these two authors of the name Dhaneśvara are identical.

The Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute contains a fragment of Dhaneśvara's commentary² on the *Anargharāghava* viz. No. 319 of 1884-87. This Ms. begins as follows :—

श्रीगणपतये नमः । श्रीअंबिकायै नमः
 प्रणतनिजभक्तसमस्तकमधुकरसुलभप्रसादमकरंद ।
 निजनखरुचिकिंजल्कं लंबोदरपादपंकजं नमतः ॥ १ ॥
 प्राततेनापि वितरिणयितुं शक्येयं गीतिः । तथा हि
 पणदणिः पमत्तमच्छ असुहुअरसुह(प)थसादमयरंदं ।
 गियणहरुइकिंजल्कं लंबोअर पावपंकयणमह ।
 ये वाग्मपा(या ?)ब्धिमथनश्रमकष्टलब्धं
 तत्त्वामृतं विविधवर्णमणिप्रकीर्णं ।
 क्षिप्यव्रजायसततं क्षणतोर्पयंत—
 स्तेभ्यो नमोस्तु नितरामि सद्गुरुभ्यः ॥ २ ॥
 यस्मात्तीरनिधेरजायत पुरा चंद्र...रंगान्वितः
 क्षीणतो भवतो विमार्गनिरतः शुभ्रैकपत्ताविलः ।
 अक्षोभ्यः कथमेष तं न हि हसेत्सूते चिरंगान् कला
 पूर्णा सत्पथगान्सितो भयलसत्पक्षान् द्विजेशान् हि यः ॥ ३ ॥
 भारद्वाजीयगोत्राब्धौ तत्र जातः कलानिधिः ।
 धर्मागदो योभ्युदये व्यधात्कुवलयोत्सवं ॥ ४ ॥
 शीलसत्यैरवततः सुतौ सुचरितानुभौ ।
 विजयोदयशर्माणात(व ?)भूतां विबुधप्रियौ ॥ ५ ॥
 प्रायोदोदयसत्पातः सत्यवृतः सुतां त्व...रान् ।
 धर्मार्थकामानवमान्मत्सरग्रहवर्जितान् ॥ ६ ॥
 विषमालोकसंपातदग्धवैरिपुरव्रजः ।
 भूतिभासुरसर्वांगो जायानत्र त्रिलोचनः ॥ ७ ॥

1. CCI, 267—"धनेश्वर Son of Udaya :

—Comm. on Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka Kh 84

—Yaśodarpaṇikā Anargharāghavaṭikā
 Radh 23, Lahore. 6"

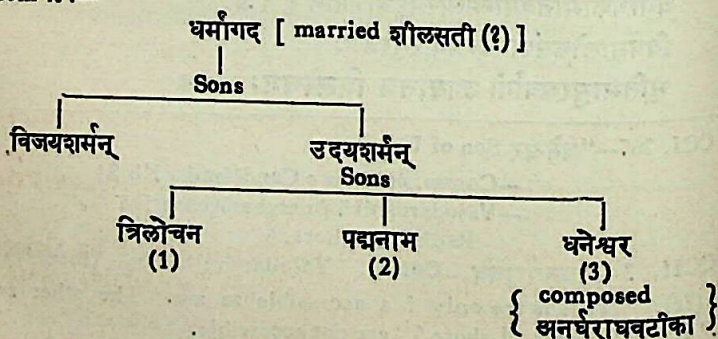
2. CCII, 3—"अनर्घराघव—Comm. Yaśodarpaṇikā by Dhaneśvara Rgb. 319 (fr)." This is the only Ms accessible to me. The other two Mss viz. "Radh 23" and "Lahore 6" are not accessible.

यशोदयाचितो भास्वदनिरुद्धोदयप्रियः ।
 अनंतभागसंविष्टपद्मनाभोत्र मध्यमः ॥ ८ ॥
 तयोः कनीयानवरोवसा सद्गुणैरपि ।
 चतुरास्योपि वा(चा) दीपपंचास्यः श्रीधनेश्वरः ॥ ९ ॥
 निगमनागशर्मस्यः साहित्यं सूर्यदीप्ततः ।
 शब्दार्थतंत्रं योश्रौषीदुत्तमाश्रमिणः कृती ॥ १० ॥
 धनेश्वरोयं शिशुबोधहेतोर्मुंरारिटीकां तनुतेस्फुटार्था ।
 अबोधवैकल्यं परिच्युतोर्यो बुधैः सुबुध्यात्र गवेशपी(णी?)यः ।
 किं यावयावा सुधिया सुतीक्ष्णा सूवीसधर्मा जयतीह बुद्धिः ।
 या कंटकैः कल्पितमावृणोति रंभं परस्य स्वगुणार्पणेन ।

As the Ms is incomplete there is no colophon and consequently we have no means of knowing if the author has recorded any information about himself in the concluding part of the work. It is, however, clear that Dhaneśvara, the son of Somanātha and author of the commentary on the *Caṇḍīśāstra* is different from his namesake of *Bhāradvāja* gotra referred to in the above extract from the commentary on the *Akṣharāghava* and whose genealogy¹ is recorded by its author in detail but which contains no person of the name *Somanātha*.

The difference in the genealogies of the two Dhaneśvaras as noticed above is sufficient to prove the mistaken character of Aufrecht's suggested identity of these two authors. I shall, however, record some further evidence in support of my remarks about the difference of authorship for both the commentaries.

1. Though the text of the MS No. 319 of 1884-87 as reproduced in the extract recorded above is corrupt we can gather the following genealogy from it :—



The Ms of the *Anaṅgharāghavaṭikā* contains the following references to previous works and authors :—

(1) दशरूपक, fol. 4, 8, 10, etc.

(2) काव्यप्रकाश, fol. 5.

(3) नाट्यदीप,¹ fol. 5.

(4) नाट्यप्रदीप,² fol. 5.

(5) संगीतकल्पतरु,³ fol. 5

(6) भरत, fol. 5

(7) अमरः, fol. 5

(8) कैयटाचार्य, fol. 10

(9) रामायण, fol. 11,

(10) न्यासकारव्याख्यान, fol. 19

(11) धरणि: fol. 26

Folio 26—"इतिश्रीभनर्चराघवटीकायां यशोदर्पणिकायां प्रथमोः"

If the work *Nāṭyapradīpa* mentioned by Dhaneśvara in his commentary on *Anaṅgharāghava* is identical with the only work of this name, mentioned by Aufrecht as the work of Sundaramiśra composed in A.D. 1613, we are compelled to fix the date of this commentary after 1613 A.D. This conclusion harmonizes with the reference by Dhaneśvara to संगीतकल्पतरु, which is a work on music composed before A. D. 1650 or so as it is mentioned by Raṅganātha in his commentary on the *Vikramorvaśīya* (A.D. 1656) and by Nārāyaṇadeva in his *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* (about A.D. 1700.)

1. Aufrecht records no work of this title.

2. Aufrecht, CC I, 284—"नाट्यप्रदीप written by Sundaramiśra in 1613, Hall, Preface to *Daśarūpa*, p. 1. Quoted by Rāmanātha on *Amarakośa* and by Vāsudeva on *Karpūramāñjarī*".

CC I, 725—"सुन्दर औज्जागरि—

—*Abhirāmamañināṭaka* written in 1599

—*Nāṭyapradīpa* written in 1613".

3. Aufrecht CC I, 685—"संगीतकल्पतरुटीकासुबोधिनी by Gaṇeśadeva, Bik. 512."

CC II, 163—"संगीतकल्पतरु music. Quoted by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśī*, Fl. 444.

Krishnamachariar (*Classical Sans. Lit.* p. 872) states that King Gajapati Virasī Nārāyaṇadeva who ruled about A.D. 1700 at Parlakimidi refers to संगीतकल्पतरु in his own work *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*.

In view of the foregoing data regarding the chronology and genealogy of the two commentators of the same name Dhaneśvara we arrive at the following conclusions :—

- (1) Dhaneśvara, son of Bhaṭṭa Someśvara of the *Daśakura* caste composed his commentary on Bāṇa's *Caṇḍīśataka* in A. D. 1309 (Śaka 1231).
- (2) The above Dhaneśvara is different from Dhaneśvara the son of Udayaśarman, who composed his commentary on the *Anargharāghava* after A.D. 1613.

It is, therefore, clear that Aufrecht's entry regarding the identity of the above mentioned "Dhaneśvaras" is not borne out by evidence gathered by me from the available Mss of their works. Both these authors appear to be separated in point of time by more than 300 years, besides having different genealogies.

NOTE

A WONDERFUL AND A NEWLY DISCOVERED FACT

Exact situation of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā

Amongst scholars, a great deal of difference of opinion has existed about the geographical situation of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā as described in the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa. The position of Laṅkā which has been fixed and deeply rooted in the mind of layman is that it is in Ceylon. Other places such as Janasthāna, Pampā Lake, Ṛṣyamūka and Prasravaṇa mounts, Kiṣkindhā, Mahendradvāra, the sea round about the Laṅkā are shown in the Madras Presidency though their exact positions have been doubted by the critical scholars very much. Sardar Kibe of Indore has started a new theory about the situation of Laṅkā on the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain in C. P. But the late Rai Bahadur Hira Lal and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar have contradicted this theory by their contributions on the situation of Laṅkā and the position of Daṇḍakāraṇya to the Jha Commemoration Volume in which both have expressed doubts about Sardar Kibe's Laṅkā, as the surrounding geographical positions do not agree with the Rāmāyaṇa text.

Mr. Justice Paramashiva Iyer of Bangalore has published a book on "Rāmāyaṇa and Laṅkā" in 1940 in which he has so far accurately fixed the above places, namely, Janasthāna, the Pampā Lake, the Ṛṣyamūka with Sugrīva's cave in it and the Prassravaṇa mountains where Śrī Rāma passed four months of the rainy season before the invasion of Laṅkā, the Mahendradvāra and the Laṅkā and the Trikūṭa mountains and Suvela mountain by the side of the Trikuṭa mountain with the help of the topographic maps and the text of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa that it is difficult to refute his theory. Fortunately for the Jubbulporeans all these places are near about Jubbulpore and it is a source of great pride to them no doubt.

Further more, the above mentioned places have been personally visited and examined by Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L. M. S., Managing Proprietor of the Poona Oriental Book Agency and Co-Editor of the Poona Orientalist, during the the third week of

March 1941, and he found out to his surprise—and to that of ours too—that these places mostly tally with the ancient situations as described in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa.

It would be convenient to give a brief summary of all these places as below :

On the motor road from Jubbulpore to Damoh (66 miles) all the places of importance from the Janasthāna to the Laṅkā are situated. The first such place on the 24th mile from Jubbulpore is Kaṭangi. Lately it was once a military station of the Gonda Rājās and hence of great military importance, being the gate of the Kaimur Pass (Mahendra-parvata of Vālmiki). The Gonds had three capital cities in the olden days. (1) Mandala in the Mandala District on the banks of the Narmadā 56 miles south-east of Jubbulpore, (2) Garha which is part of Jubbulpore city, and (3) Laṅkā 15 miles north of Jubbulpore, on the top of the Trikūṭa hill. Laṅkā seems to have been built on a hill-top (with the Hiran river as a protective belt) to serve as an inaccessible asylum by the very ancient Gonds. Here there is even now a temple of Jagannātha on the Bharner slope of the Kaṭangi village. It was probably to this Jagannātha that Rāma referred to when he gave his parting message to Bībhīṣaṇa “to rule Laṅkā long and to offer worship to Jagannātha, the guardian deity of the Ikṣvāku race.”

प्रजास्त्वं रक्ष धर्मेण नोत्तरं वक्तुमर्हसि

किं चान्यत् वक्तुमिच्छामि राक्षसेन्द्र महामते ॥ ३० ॥

आराधय जगन्नाथमिक्ष्वाकुकुलदैवतम्

आराधनीयमनिशं सर्वैर्देवैः सवासवैः ॥ ३१ ॥

(Uttarakāṇḍa Sarga 108, Verses 30-31). उत्तरकाण्ड सर्ग १०८.

Katangi is only 9 miles from the Laṅkā. Now when Dr. Sardesai visited this temple site of nearly 5000 years old, it was natural that the memory of the name even might have been forgotten. But to his surprise not only the very name but the temple itself is undergoing repairs through the enthusiasm of the rich merchants of the village. And this enthusiasm knew no bounds when the local merchants learnt that this very Jagannātha has been consecrated by Śrī Rāma himself.

It is really wonderful that there should exist such a living monument of Rāma's time with the same name as is described in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa.

Encouraged by this identification of Jagannātha's temple, Dr. Sardesai, who was accompanied by some residents of Katangi and Mr. Bapusaheb Paradkar, went further to Sangrāmpur nearly eight miles off so as to see R̥ṣyamūka and Prasravaṇa mountains and the tank (cold water) in front of Sugrīva's cave. Though the ascent was very steep in the reserved forests, the enthusiasm of finding out the ancient landmarks of Rāma's time actuated the party to bear all the trouble. What was then described in Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa by Kabandha—Mārīca's servant—that before reaching Sugrīva's cave one has to cross a cold water reservoir, was found to be true. Sugrīva's cave is very deep and full of swallows having a very strong swallow-stink. The Prasravaṇa mountain is hard by R̥ṣyamūka. From the cave of Sugrīva the old road which is still running on is clearly visible so that it can be very easily surmised that Sugrīva, Hanūmān and his other companions saw Rāvaṇa carrying Sītā in an ass-drawn cart below the cave through the old road. This is the second greatest landmark in the identification of the geographical positions in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The third equally conclusive point is the Mahendradvāra, a cleft in the Mahendra mountain useful for crossing it on the way to Laṅkā. This cleft is a regular cut of the Mahendra mountain in such a wonderful way that it looks as if the mountain had been sawn through in days of yore as if to provide for a way beyond for Laṅkā and other places. Through this pass (cleft) flows the Kair river after being joined by the other river the Songhara, and the joined confluence of these rivers passes through this Mahendradvāra (Kaimur hills). At this cleft the water of the river is deep. Consequently it is a good fishing pond and so it was even in Rāvaṇa's time. It is stated in the Rāmāyaṇa that Supārśva the son of Sampāti—brother of Jaṭāyu—supplied his father, feeble on a account of old age, with fish, after catching them in this cleft. When Rāvaṇa carried Sītā in an ass-drawn cart through this place, he had to induce Supārśva to give him a passage to pass through this cleft as it was gorged by him. The cleft is

now known as Katao and is still as it was then, though a motor road had been opened in 1900 through it. Before that time this cleft was very difficult to cross. This is the third landmark about which there is not the least doubt and it is convincing too.

The other places, trans landmarks besides these three convincing are Kiṣkindhā, the Pampā lake, Janasthāna, the Laṅkā on the Trikūṭa with Suvela hill by its side. Mataṅgavana etc. are not visible and hence are not so convincing as the above mentioned—Jagannātha's temple, Sugrīva's cave with cold water tank in front of it and the Mahendravarā (the Kaimur Cleft). But their situations as marked in the topo-sheets are convincing and the local tradition also helps to convince one about the Pampā lake. Previously the Lake Pampā had thirty-four miles area under water though there was a causeway through it by which Rāvaṇa carried Sītā in an ass-drawn cart and Rāma too followed the same way immediately after Rāvaṇa. He and Sugrīva's party could recognise impressions of the feet of asses in the dust just below the Ṛṣyamūka Parvata. Mataṅgavana and Kiṣkindhā could be located but on personal visit it was found out that there is no habitation on these spots. No doubt the Kakarhia river passes near by Gokhra, (the ancient Kiṣkindhā) where Vālī's corpse might have been burnt. But this is all surmise. No convincing proofs are visible. There are many aborigines in the Vindhyan range such as Gonds, Kurkhwans, Kols, Śābaras even at present and among them Rāvaṇa with his brother Khara and other Rākṣasas belonging to the Gonds type and the Vānaras such as Sugrīva, Vālī, Hanūmān were of the Kurku race.

Laṅkā according to Vālmiki is situated on the Hill-top of the Trikūṭa (three peaks) mountain with Suvela—another Hill—by its side on which Rāma halted for the night before the fight began. These hills are 15 miles from Jubbulpore and 7 miles south from Majhole village near the village Indrana. From the Majhole village side it is an easy ascent. At present the plateau on the Trikūṭ hills where Laṅkā was situated is a desolate piece of land, though up to 900 A.D. it was the capital of the Traikūṭakas (Kalchūri Haihayas). It was then transferred to Tewār or Tripurā probably because Laṅkā was disturbed by fire.

or otherwise. But if an archæological digging be commenced, there is every possibility of unearthing some important finds if not of Rāvaṇa's time, at least of Traikūṭaka's time.

Whatever it may be, Mr. Justice Paramashiva Iyer's book is no doubt a thought-provoking one and the actual identification of at least three places done by Dr. N. G. Sardesai convincingly proves that these belong to the Rāmāyaṇa period. It is now due to all research scholars and more so to Jubbulpore scholars to develop further research about these places and find out more and more proofs to convince the public about the true nature of Justice Iyer's discovery.

Editor.

Narbadā and Garha (Jubbulpore)

As to the Narbadā to which Sugrīva refers as 'durgām', he must have had in mind, the eight-mile stretch of the river from where it turns due west two miles below Jubbulpore, to the Dhumdhara falls above the marble rocks. *Garhā*, which is now the western suburb of Jubbulpore, was the capital city of the Gond from time immemorial. Garhā is three miles north of the Narbadā, and between it and the river is a region of 'barren rock tors and huge boulders of granite' which extends right up to the Lameta Ghat, a mile above the water-falls. It is on one of the tors, a mile south of Garha and 1537 feet high, that Madan Mahal the old Gond castle stands. Per contra, to the north of Garha and right up to Katangi and the Vindhyan Koti, a distance of 2½ miles, the open plain of the Haveli, with a uniform level, as shown by the contour lines, of 1250 feet, is unbroken by a single hill or even hillock. The difficult country between Garha and the Narbadā afforded facilities for the concealment of Sītā, and a month's time was not too short to search it out in addition to the Kaimur Pass. This again probablises the genuineness of Kiṣkindhā, Sarga 41, verse 8.

Von der Seele der Indischen Frau (im Spiegel der Volkssprüche der Konkans) (Typ. Rangel Bastorā). Goa, (456 pag.) Vorwort von Prof. W. H. Hoffmann. index-1941—On the Soul of Indian Women (through the mirror of Konkans's folklore)—Such is the title of the first book in German, edited in Goa, and whose author is Mrs. Hedwig Bachmann de Mello, a Swiss lady living in that country for many years.

Trying to study the psychology of Hindu women through the popular philosophy contained in Proverbs, Maxims and Legends current among the people, the author arrives at very interesting conclusions, which we find of unquestionable actuality, specially now-a-days that we are witnessing a movement of renaissance in India in general and of her womenfolk in particular.

Some of these conclusions must be emphasized: for instance, that in which the author states that, despite the multiple races, castes and religions which constitute the stock of Indian Population, there is an astonishing unity in Indian ethics, even among the most illiterate masses of people, proficient from teachings derived from the old Vedic literature, and spread among the people by Brahmins through Prakrit languages.

The second equally important conclusion is that the Aryan invaders, who practically belonged to the patriarchal status, must have found a flourishing civilisation, perhaps even superior to theirs, but founded on a predominantly matriarchal status and that, from the blending of these two civilisations, through inter-marriages, came forcibly as a result an exaggerated patriarchalism, which characterizes the masculine power in India, culminating in the divinization of the Hindu husband; at the same time the woman was deprived of her old Vedic rights and liberties, as it was necessary to crush, in such mixed families, every vestige of the matriarchal rights which must have shocked very deeply the Aryan mind. Hence a plausible explanation for some extraordinary institutions such as infantile marriages, prohibition of widow-remarriage, prohibition of property-right to women, prohibition of reciting the Vedas and so on, which, grown into sacred laws, seem so strange to the Western mind.

The author is inclined to believe that such a forced crushing of the feminine personality might have indirectly influenced the tendency of Indian philosophy, which, after the Vedic epoch, became so markedly transcendental and negativist.

However a deeply-rooted civilisation is not easy to be wiped out by the force of conquest ; and thus the Dravidian culture, in its turn, influenced the Aryan invaders. And the author who has compared the Konkani proverbs collected by Dalgado, Talmaki, Chavan and by herself with Mahratti and Kanarese proverbs, finds in Konkani a living example of the mutual interferences between both these ethical and ethnical stocks.

Even in the code of Manu, whose strong patriarchal ideas are unquestionable, many articles are tainted by matriarchalism. In several mythological legends too, the author shows that the struggle between the two antagonistic cultures seem to be depicted, and so, one finds in India the strange paradox, in which, at the side of a divinized man, still lives the cult of the mother, divinized as in no other country, and between them remains the woman, deprived of all her rights and personality.

The book is prefaced by Prof. Hoffmann and, besides a short introductory note about the geo-ethnography of Konkani, contains seven chapters, each of them full of proverbs, their origin and interpretation, and subordinated to a *motto*, expressed also in a popular saying : the 1st dealing with the cult of the mother having as *motto* " no divinity likes that of the mother," the 2nd on the position of the woman in the family since Vedic times up to our days with the *motto* " under the lamp, shadow," the 3rd trying to make out the position of the womankind in the joint family, where, the multiple duties and responsibilities of the master of the household have bestowed upon him such a colossal amount of rights through which the womenfolk were still more put into shadow (proverb : " the eyes see the sky but the hands cannot reach it "); the 4th on the conflict between these two antagonistic civilisations (proverb : " Sun and rain wed "); the 5th on the familiar and social consequences resulting for India from the prohibition of all property-rights to the women (proverb : " an empty well cannot be filled with water put in it from outside "); the 6th trying to unveil the psychological reaction

in the woman's soul, which resulted from the deprivation of the feminine participation in religious rites, (proverb: "it is not enough to simply to look at; one must look into very carefully"); the 7th a rapid glance on the main doctrines since Buddha till now and their influence in the shaping of the mind of Hindu Woman in order to undergo a voluntary Suttee, in which she manifested her great soul and through which her spirit mysteriously reigned over the Hindu society (proverb: the hand of the donor remains above, that of the receiver below").

The whole book is a praise of the strong soul of Hindu Woman and a clarion call for the reconquest of her lost individuality for the uplift of a new India.

P. PISSURLENCAR.

Paumacariya of Vimalasūri (Cantos 33-35) edited by R. D. Laddu, M.A. and N. A. Gore, M.A., Pp. ix + 63 + 63, Size crown. Price Rs. 1-8. Published by the Venus Book Stall, Poona, 2. 1941.

The present book contains a critical edition of the portion of Vimalasūri's Paumacariya which is prescribed for the F. Y. Arts examinaion of 1942 by the University of Bombay. The book contains an introduction giving an *apparatus criticus* and dealing with the topics concerning the author, his probable date (*Crica* between 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.) and an estimate of his work. The text is neatly printed with variants from the MSS at the BORI, Poona, along with its English translation which is printed just below it. The notes contain everything that a university student is expected to know for a critical study of the text. They also reveal a philological bias on the part of the editor which goes a long way to their credit.

Editor

NOTICE OF VERY RARE-BOOK

Archaeological Survey of India by Cunningham Vols. I-XXIII and Index to Vols. 1-23. Rs. 300.

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Grahagaṇitādhyāya (ग्रहगणिताध्याय) of Bhāskarācārya with Vāsanā Bhāṣya and Śiromaniprakāśa Tika of Gaṇeśa Daivajña, ed. by D. V. Apte from a rare Ms. for the first time. The editor in his Preface in Sanskrit, has refuted, with concrete examples, the theories brought by some European Scholars

against Ancient Indian Astronomers re. their supposed debt to Greek Astronomers like Hipparchus, Ptolemy and Arisarchas and has shown that growth of India Astronomy was not due to their borrowing anything from ancient Greece. Part II. Poona 1941. Boards. Roy. Pp. 3,167. Rs. 1-13.

Ṣaṭpāncās'ikā (षट्पञ्चाशिका) with an English trans. and a free English rendering of Sri Bhaṭṭotpala's Comm. thereon by Pt. V. Subrahmanya Sastri. Bangalore 1941. Cl. Cr. Pp. 74. Rs.1-4.

Śrīpatipaddhati (श्रीपतीपद्धति) with an English trans., Notes and sample horoscope worked out by V. S. Sastri. Bangalore. Pp. 183. Rs. 2-12.

GRAMMAR & PHILOLOGY

Paṇinīya Śabdānus'āsanam or **Mahāraṣṭriyā Aśṭādhyāyī** (पाणिनीय शब्दानुशासनम् अथवा महाराष्ट्रियाष्टाध्यायी) with his own Comm. by Mahāraṣṭriya. Part I containing 1-3 Adhyayas. Ratnagiri 1940. Boards. Demy. Pp. 7, 183. Rs. 3.

Siddhāntakaumudī (सिद्धान्तकौमुदी) with Bālaṃanoramā Comm. of Vāsudeva Dikṣita and and Rupalekhana and Pañkṭilekhana-prakāra by Gopal Śāstri Nene ed. with Prayoga-Sūcī by Pt. Sadaśiva Śāstri Joshi. Pūrvarḍha. Benares 1941. Cl. Cr. Pp. 1047. Rs. 2-4.

Introduction to German—An extra-rapid Course for the University-students of Arts and Science by Prof. R. D. Vadekar. This book gives in 24 lessons all the essentials of German grammar and supplies for reading a large number of extracts from German literature as well as passages from scientific works on Physics and Chemistry. Poona 1941. Paper. Cr. Rs. 2.

HISTORY

Ancient India, Vol. IV by Dr. T. L. Shah. History of Ancient India for 1000 years in 4 Vols. (from 900 B.C. to 100 A.D.) Baroda 1941. Cl. Roy. Pp. 20,468. Rs. 9.

History of the Guptas by Prof. Dr. R. N. Dandekar. This is a complete connected history of the Guptas—the Imperial Guptas and the later Guptas of Malwa and Magadha with an exhaustive Index and a map of India. Poona Or. S. No. 76. Poona 1941. Cr. Pp. 227. Rs. 3.

Our Cultural Heritage—Some of the essentials of Indian civilisation—by Dr. Iswara Toppa with a Foreword by Mrs. Saro-

jini Naidu. In this little book the author has made a valuable contribution to some complex, though fascinating phases of India's cultural evolution. It depicts changes in thought-processes and social patterns and behaviours of our cultural life in the past. The theme is evolved with great skill and independent judgment. Allahabad 1940. Demy Pp. 128. Rs. 3.

INDIAN MEDICINE

Bhāvaprakāś'a (भावप्रकाश) Part II ed. with Vidyotini Hindi Comm., Notes, Intro. (in Hindi) by Pt. Brahmaśankar Miśra. Benares 1941. Cl. Demy. Pp. 30,856,12. Rs. 6.

Rasaratna-samuccaya Tika (रसरत्नसमुच्चयटीका) ed. by Pt. P. G. Ranade. The need for a good Comm. on Rasaratna-samuccaya was keenly felt by all practitioners of Ayurveda. The present volume is expected to meet this long-felt want by supplying an original Comm. by learned Pt. Chintamaṇi Śāstri Khare who after ten years of labour wrote this "Saralārtha-prakāśikā" Comm. Poona 1941. Board. Roy. Pp. 6,8,226. Rs. 2-8.

MISCELLANEOUS

A Volume of Studies in Indology (Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane) presented to Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., on his 61st Birthday 7th May 1941, ed. by Dr. S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode. Contains 74 articles on various branches of Indology by eminent Scholars from the East and the West. Poona Or. S. No. 75. Poona 1941. Paper Roy. Pp. XVI, 551 with Prof. Kane's portrait. Rs. 15.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Volume ed. by Dr. B. C. Law. Contains 50 articles contributed by his admirers, friends and pupils presented to Dr. Bhandarkar. Calcutta 1940. Paper. Roy. Pp. XXX, 382,10 Illstrns. Rs. 10.

Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. I. ed. by Dr. N. Dutt with an Intro. and an essay on Buddhism in Kasmir and texts of the Mss. Srinagar 1939. Cl. Roy. Pp. 4,90,146. Rs. 4.

Hindu Social Institutions with reference to their psychological implications by Dr. P. Walavalkar with a foreword by Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan. A serious and scientific account of Hindu Social organisation with accurate learning and great discrimination. Bombay 1941. Pp. XXII, 18, 388. Rs. 7-8.

History of Sanskrit literature by Srimati Akshaya-kumar Devi. In this small book of 175 pages, an attempt has been made to summarize all the volume of research that has accumulated on the subjects beginning with Mohenjo-daro. Calcutta 1941. Rs. 1-8.

Illumination of Life, Part I, by K. R. Chawla. A collection of parallel thiems in English from Hindu, Parsi, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh, Muslim, Christian and Bahai Scriptures. Ferozpur 1941. Cl. Cr. Pp. 6,201. Rs. 2.

S'rī Krishṇa—his Life and Teachings by M. R. Sampatkumaran. This book contains altogether 18 chapters of brilliant exposition dealing with different phases of Śrī Krishṇa's life. Madras 1941. As. 12.

The Life Divine by Sri Aurobindo. Vol. I, Omnipresent Reality and Universe. Vol. II, Pt. I Knowledge and the Ignorance. Vol. II, Pt. II Spiritual Evolution. Calcutta 1939-40. Cl. Demy. Pp. 441, 515 and 1116. Rs. 22.

The New Year Book 1941. A Book of knowledge, facts, events, dates, records, information, statistics, chronology etc. ed. by J. Guha Thakurta. Calcutta 1941. Cr. Pp. 40, 328. Rs. 1-4.

Sūrya Namaskāras for Health, Efficiency and Longevity by H. H. Pant Pratinidhi of Aundh. 1940. Demy. Pp. 198 and 22 illstrns. Rs. 1-4.

Śrī Vidyānityānhikam (श्रीविद्यानित्याह्निकम्). This book contains duties that a Srividyaopāsaka has to perform from the time he gets out of bed in the morning to the time he retires to bed. Madras 1941. Rs. 3.

INDIAN MUSIC

Caturdaṇḍi-prakāś'ikā (चतुर्दण्डिप्रकाशिका) of Venkaṭamakhin. Sanskrit text with Supplement ed. by P. S. S. Sastri and P. V. Subbrao and T. L. V. Aiyar. Madras. Cr. Pp. 7,116,17. Rs.2-8.

Sangītasudhā (संगीतसुधा) of King Raghunātha of Tanjore, ed. by P. S. S. Aiyar and S. S. Sastri with detailed table of contenta. Madras 1940. Boards. Dr. Cr. Pp. 24, 347. Rs. 2-8.

PALI, PRAKRIT, etc.

Nāyadhammakahāo (नायधम्मकहाओ) the sixth aṅga of Śvetāmbara Jain cannon critically ed. with variant readings by Prof. N. V. Vaidya. Poona 1940. Demy Pp. 4, 245. Rs. 5.

Pāli Dhāturūpāvali (पालिधातुरूपावलि) Declension of Pali roots, with their Sanskrit, English, Marathi, Hindi, and Gujrati meanings by N. V. Tungar. Poona Or. S. No. 73. Poona 1941. Cr. Pp. 60. As. 6.

PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION

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Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva (चतुःशतक). Sanskrit and Tibetan texts with copious extracts from the Comm. of Candrakīrti. Part 11. Reconstructed and ed. by Prof. V. Bhattacharya. Śāntiniketan. Pp. 24, 308. Rs. 8.

Māhāyānavims'ikā of Nāgārjuna (महायानविंशिका). Reconstructed Sanskrit text, Tibetan and Chinese versions with an English trans. ed. by Prof. V. Bhattacharya. Śāntiniketan. Cl. Roy. Pp. 44. Rs. 5.

Tris'vabhāvanirdes'a of Vasubandhu (त्रिश्रभावनिर्देशः) Sanskrit text and Tibetan version, ed. with an English trans., Intro. and vocabularies by S. Mukhopādhyay. Śāntiniketan. Cl. Roy. Pp. VI, 71. Rs. 10.

DHARMA

Essential Unity of all Religions compiled by Dr. Bhagvan Das. Benares 1939. 2nd ed. Cl. Cr. Pp. 55, 683. Rs. 2-8.

Dwārakā-paṭala of Viṇābai and **Gaṅgāvākya-vaḷi** of Visvasadevi (द्वारकापटल गंगावाक्यावलि च) ed. for the first time with English Intro., trans. of some selected portions of Dwārakā-paṭala, Notes, Appendices by Dr. J. B. Chaudhury. Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Lit., Vol. III and IV. Calcutta 1940. Cl. Demy Pp. 9, 314, 136, 53, 40. Rs. 10.

Lingadhāraṇa-candrikā of Nandikeśvara (लिङ्गधारणचंद्रिका) ed. with English trans. and Notes by M. R. Sakhare. Belgaon. Demy Pp. 76, 250. Rs. 5.

JAINISM

- Anekāntajaya-patākā** of Haribhadrasurī (अनेकान्तजयपताका) with his own Comm. and Tippanika by Municandra ed. by H. R. Kapadia. Vol. I. Baroda 1940. Roy. Pp. 32, 404. Rs. 10.
- Schools and Sects in Jain Literature** by Amulyacandra Śeṣa. Being a full account compiled from original sources of the doctrines and practices of philosophical schools and religious sects mentioned in the canonical literature of Jainas. Śāntiniketan. Pp. 47. Rs. 4.

MIMĀṂSĀ

- Śāstradīpikā-Tarkapāda** English trans. by D. Venkataramayya Baroda 1940. Boards. Roy. Pp. 27, 264. Rs. 5.

MANTRA, TANTRA

- Śrī Netra Tantram** (श्रीनेत्रतन्त्रम्) with Comm. by Kṣemaraja, ed. by Pt. M. Kaul. Vol. II Chaps. 16-22. Srinagar 1939. Pp. 344. Rs. 3.

- Paramasamhitā** (परमसंहिता) ed. by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. An authoritative work on Pañcarātra system. Baroda 1940. Pp. 45, 208, 230. Rs. 8.

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- Gita-a Critique** by Prof. P. Narasimham. Madras 1939. Pp. 270. Rs. 2-8.

- Śrī Madhwācārya and his Message to the World** by M. R. Gopalacarya. Contains Māyāvāda-khaṇḍaṇa with English Intro. and Trans. Bombay 1941. Rs. 1-4.

- Paramārthasāra** of Ādiśeṣa, transliterated text, English trans. and Notes by Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. Bombay 1941. Roy. Pp. 22, 40. Rs. 4.

- Śārīraka-nyāyasaṅgraha** of Prakāśātman Yati (शारीरकन्यायसंग्रहः) ed. by Dr. T. R. Cintamani with a Foreword by M. M. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. Madras 1939. Paper. Roy. Pp. 2, 4, 182. Rs. 2.

- Tattwopaplava** of Jayarasi, an atheistic writer (तत्त्वोपप्लवः) ed. by Pt. Sukhalalji with an Intro. by R. C. Parekh. A masterly criticism of the opinions of the prevailing philosophical schools. Baroda 1940. Roy. Pp. 21, 244. Rs. 4.

POETRY, PROSE, POETICS, ROMANCE

Bhartrhari Says. Translated from the Sanskrit original into English verse by Dixon Scott. London 1940. Demy. 8. Illustrns. Rs. 12.

Bhaṭṭikāvyaṃ (भट्टीकाव्यम्) with Candrakalā Sanskrit Comm. and Vidyotini Hindi Comm. Cantos 1-6. ed. by Sesaraj Sastri. Benares 1941. Rs. 1-8.

Bhramara-dūta-kāvyaṃ of Rudranyāya Pancānana (भ्रमरदूत-काव्यम्) ed. for the first time with Eng. Intro. and Appendices by Dr. J. B. Chaudhury. Re. 1.

Number of Rasas by Dr. V. Raghavan with a Foreword by Prof. M. Hiriyanna. Madras 1940. Cl. Demy Pp. 9, 192. Rs. 3.

Pṛthvirāja-vijaya-mahākāvyaṃ of Jayānaka (पृथ्वीराज विजय-महाकाव्यम्) ed. with Comm. of Jonarāja by MM. Dr. Gaurishankar Ojha. Ajmer 1941. Paper Roy. Pp. 11, 314. Rs. 5.

VEDA

Atharvaveda of Paippalada, (अथर्ववेद-पैपलाद) Books 1-20 ed. by Dr. Raghu Vir. Conspectus of Śaunaka and Paippalāda. Paippalad Verse Index. Concluding Vol. III. Lahore 1940. D. Roy. Pp. 285-371. Rs. 30.

R̥gvedavyākhyā of Mādhava (ऋग्वेदव्याख्या-माधवकृता) 1st Aṣṭaka ed. by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Adyar 1939. Cl. Demy Pp. 14, 472. Rs. 6.

R̥gveda Samhitā (ऋग्वेदसंहिता) Text critically ed. by Pt. Satavalekar with the help of Pandits and old Mss. 2nd ed. Aundh 1940. C. D. Cr. Pp. 72, 978. Rs. 5.

Śuklayajurvedīya-kāṇva-samhitā (शुक्लयजुर्वेदीयकाण्वसंहिता) ed. with the help of old Mss. by Pt. Satavalekar. Aundh 1940. Pp. 216. Rs. 3.

Sāmavedīya-subodhinī-paddhati of Śukla Śrīśivaram (सामवेदीय सुबोधिनी पद्धति) ed. with Sanskrit Intro. by Pt. Durgadatta Tripathi. Benares 1941. Cl. Demy Pp. 10, 304. Rs. 4-8.

शतपथ ब्राह्मण—श्रीमद्वाजसनेयिमाध्यन्दिन—मूलमन्त्रपाठ तथा ऋजुपाठसहित । श्रीमन्त्रयीभाष्यकार—सायणविरचित—वेदार्थप्रकाशाख्यभाष्यसमेत । तथा टिप्पणीसहित । उक्तभाष्यानुपलब्धिस्थाने श्रीहरिस्वामिभाष्यसमेत. Complete in 5 Vols. Bombay 1940. Rs. 75.



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ON THE PRESENT NEEDS OF INDIAN LINGUISTICS

(S. M. Katre)

It is a common belief in India that seventy years mark off the life of a man, to be renewed with a *bhaimīrathī sānti* in order to ward off any evil which may be lurking for him after this period. The belief in this three score and ten is not limited to us in India alone, but is shared by most of the ancient nations of the World. While it indicates the coming to fruition of a human life, and so to say the ripening of his intellect to the highest pitch, reaching its maximum before this period, it is but a short span in the life of a science. Indian Linguistics as we understand it in its modern connotation was born just seventy years ago within India with the publication of Trumpp's *Sindhi Grammar* in 1872—the same year which witnessed the birth of the great *Indian Antiquary*—; and the seventies of the nineteenth century also saw the publication of Beames' *Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan languages*, Bhandarkar's inauguration of the Wilson Philological Lectures and Hoernle's *Goudian Grammar*. But the science of Grammar is at least three millenniums old within India, commencing with the Vedic period in the *Samhitā* and *Pada-pāthas* and reaching a glorious climax in Pāṇini's immortal *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Nevertheless when we speak of Linguistics we always associate the birth of this science with European scholars whose vision, at first bewildered by the depths and profundity of Pāṇini's analysis of Sanskrit, was the first to penetrate within the possibilities of the methods therein employed to the comparative study of cognate languages. It was indeed a great tragedy that Pāṇini, with his superhuman vision into the genius of language, did not apply his keen intellect to

the analysis of other current languages in the country in which he was born and bred, and that none of his successors deemed it worthy of their intellectual pursuits until the European scholar awakened from their mediæval ignorance by the so-called 'discovery' of Sanskrit, actually 'discovered' the science of comparative grammar or Linguistics in the early part of the nineteenth century. But while Bhandarkar, Beames, Hoernle and Trumpp were busy establishing the newly discovered science by applying it to modern stages of Indo-Aryan, the school of Brugmann or the Junggrammatiker was inaugurating a new era in the comparative grammar of the great Indo-European family of languages. In this sense we may be allowed to speak of the new science of linguistics as having reached its maturity by completing seventy years. Let us hope that no *bhaimīrathī śānti* in the ordinary sense will be required for the rapid development of this youngest of sciences in the country which gave birth to it a thousand years or so before Christ was born. But the object of the present paper is to indicate that another kind of effort is required, not a *śānti* in any sense of the term, but essentially a *bhīma* effort, a movement of considerable difficulty and sustained effort by the large number of research institutes and universities which are dealing with one or another aspect of this science in a well-ordered manner and in a spirit of co-ordination.

To most of us the great classics in this field are generally known by title. To recount a few here such as Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, Geiger's *Pali Grammar* or Bloch's *Formation de la langue marathe* or Suniti Kumar Chatterji's *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* or Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* or great *Kashmiri Dictionary* or Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*, would only be pointing out to types of studies which are already on the right-hand side of every serious scholar. But the variety shown by these names is no small indication to the extent of the subject or its ever widening scope. The many problems which Indian linguists have to concern themselves with will have been partially indicated by Jules Bloch firstly in his Furlong Lectures and again in his *L'indo-aryen*, and a few more in my Wilson Philological lectures under *Desiderata*. But in none of these are the practical

cal difficulties fully dealt with or the means shown whereby a practical scheme of co-ordinated research may be established. The greatest need today is the putting into effect such a practical scheme by means of which Indian Linguistics can make a sufficient amount of progress in consonance with that accomplished in European countries.

Since the inception of the Oriental Conference in India in 1919 one section generally deals with Comparative Philology and Indian Linguistics, another with non-local Indian languages and a third with the individual local languages (since divided into as many sections as there are languages). Beyond suggesting some problems from time to time or giving a *resumé* of the research within the various spheres no practical scheme seems to have been devised to meet the growing needs of the science for a cooperative and co-ordinated work by the various public and private research institutes in the country for the advancement of learning.

The Linguistic Society of India was established at Lahore in 1928 under the inspiring guidance of the late Professor Woolner, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, but on his death early in 1936, the fate of the Society hung by a thread until the Calcutta group of linguists under the leadership of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji relieved the anxiety of its members by transferring its headquarters to Calcutta, after a resolution to that effect passed at the 1937 meeting of the Society at Trivandrum. During the thirteen years of its chequered life the Society completed seven volumes of its Bulletin, and the eighth is now in the course of publication. Although the individual members of the Society have been carrying on their personal researches in the various aspects of Indian Linguistics, the Society has not been able to lay down a co-ordinated plan in which our Universities and Research Institutes may participate for the firm foundation of Indian and General Linguistics in India and thereby regain its lost leadership in the field which it gave birth to three millenniums back.

The causes which have contributed to this apathy may be summarised here. With the exception of the Calcutta University the subject of Indian Linguistics has not formed part of the curriculum of any Indian University. Most of the pioneers in

the field had to proceed to Europe for conducting research in their pet subjects, and it is recently that anything like a school of linguistic workers may be said to be in existence, thanks chiefly to the thorough-going efforts of the present masters of the subject like Professors Chatterji and Varma. The example which these scholars have set before their colleagues and pupils has drawn a large number of workers to those untilled fields which they have indicated in their many writings, and their model has been faithfully copied by others in most of the details. A second factor—and perhaps a serious one too—is that the English language is rather poor in the possession of standard treatises on any single aspect of either General or Indian linguistics, notwithstanding such outstanding examples as the writings of Grierson, Trumpp, Tessitori, Turner, Chatterji or Varma. Compared with the scientific contribution of either French or German scholars the achievement of these scholars in general Linguistics is indeed negligible. It is only with the establishment of the American Linguistic Society in 1925 that English is once more becoming a vehicle comparable with French or German for the expression of linguistic thought.

Grierson's major work is largely a collection of data and its presentation in a well-digested form; the present occasion is not the proper one to indicate the greatness of his contribution to Indian Linguistics, but suffice it to say that he was the doyen of all Indian linguists and he placed India on the international map of Linguistics by his great Linguistic Survey, thereby laying the foundations, truly and well, of all future research in the field. But with the exception of a few works dealing with Behari and Kashmiri he was unable to establish a series of grammars on the lines, for example, of the *Indo-germanische Bibliothek*, a uniform series wherein the masters of the various aspects of linguistics contributed volumes on those aspects and enriched the literature on the subject and at the same time brought their results within the reach of the average scholar in the country.

Individual volumes contributed by scholars like Jules Bloch or Suniti Kumar Chatterji cannot take the place of these uniform publications. For Bloch's volume on Marāṭhī is too succinct and brief, and involves certain discussions which might be better

reserved for a general volume on Indian Linguistics. Chatterji's immortal work will frighten any serious student by its extensiveness, for it contains within itself material for more than two volumes of the series referred to above. Similarly Bloch's *L'indo-aryen* is really a panoramic survey which will be found useful only by the advanced scholars specialising in the subject.

The first and foremost need of Indian Linguistics today is therefore a series of uniform volumes which will indicate the present status of the science with respect to the general comparative grammars of Old, Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan languages and the linguistic grammars of each of the individually attested languages of this family; comparative grammars of Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages, with the linguistic grammars of the individually attested languages of these families. The volumes should be addressed in such a manner as to be useful to the student of languages as well as to the general linguist, and as a model one might set the justly famous *Indogermanische Bibliothek* of the Heidelberg University. The major difficulty, however, is that there is no Carl Winter in India ready to undertake the financing and publication of such series organised by the learned bodies of the country. It is here that the practical scheme meets the bed-rock of reality staring it out of countenance and perhaps out of existence itself. But there is no cause for losing heart or for despair; we know, for instance, that the Calcutta University is spending huge sums of money for annually publishing a large number of works at its own Press; similarly the Bombay University has its own publication series and publication grants enabling the scholars concerned to bring out a fairly large number of works, while both the Madras and Punjab Universities have established several series for publishing the researches of their oriental departments. Now the scheme adumbrated above cannot naturally become the sole concern of any one of these Universities individually and in the absence of a Carl Winter or a publisher of such eminence, one has to take into account the possibility of co-operation of all these Universities through a central organisation such as the Linguistic Society of India or the Linguistic sections of the All-India Oriental Conference or even research institutes having linguistic departments such as

the Calcutta University or the Deccan College Research Institute for the achievement of the objective.

Such a central organisation will be authorised by the constituent bodies to submit a well-ordered co-ordinated plan of publication for their approval. In this plan will be indicated the exact nature of the works undertaken and the names of the scholars who, being masters of those particular fields, have agreed to co-operate with this organization in the completion of the series. If all the Universities in India co-operate in this scheme and agree, in the first instance, to finance the production or publication of one volume each, and if the competent scholars agree to lend their honest but honorary collaboration for these volumes, there is nothing to hinder the plan from maturing. If a famous printing house like the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta is entrusted with the printing of these volumes on a uniform pattern, the Linguistic Society of India and the Deccan College Research Institute might collaborate on the final shaping of the scheme. It is essential, for the proper presentation of the science, that the printing should be absolutely free from errors and in view of the large number of special linguistic types with diacritical marks on the same fount which will be required for dealing with such divergent families of languages as the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic or Tibeto-Burman, only a press of the standing of the Baptist Mission Press will be able to give satisfactory work.

The series itself will be divided into these four major groups according to the major families of languages within India. Each of these series will be headed by a comparative grammar of the entire family, to be followed by linguistic grammars of some of the more important of the members of each family; then there will be comparative dictionaries for each language; scope should also be given for contributory research monographs to be published in the series. Naturally in a series devoted to linguistic studies of this type, a uniform system of Roman transliteration along with the symbols employed by the International Phonetic Association has to be employed. Another need of the science, compatible within the intended series, is the publication of uniform chrestomathies giving selected texts and

descriptive grammars of the living members of these great families. The full details are to be worked out by the central organisation in consultation with the competent scholars concerned. In view of the fact that the Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference is meeting this year at Hyderabad and there is likelihood of a meeting of the Linguistic Society of India taking place under the joint session of the Philology and Language sections of the Conference, the suggestions contained within the present paper are not inappropriate or unreasonable.

Two factors must always be kept before the organising of any research, the individual scholars whose co-operation may be absolutely relied upon and the means whereby the results of such research may be made available in print with the least possible delay and in good print. Both these may well be discussed at this forthcoming session of the Oriental Conference, particularly when the Conference is itself attempting to establish a permanent Secretariat with well-ordered research schemes in the offing in which this Secretariat may act as the co-ordinating agent.

Turning to other aspects of the science it is necessary to mention here the two crying needs of Linguistics within India. If God created the tower of Babel to confuse the human mind India is then the ideal country for confusion worse confounded ; but three thousand years of grammatical and linguistic research have given the nation some means whereby this confusion can be laid bare and order restored ; again the cultural unity of India either with Sanskrit principally or later with Perso-Arabic infiltrations has tended to stem the tower of Babel from unnecessarily expanding itself. But the cultural unification mentioned above, and particularly under the stress of modernization or industrialisation, is fast encroaching itself on the formerly undisturbed state of affairs, and the rich dialectical material which lends such charm to linguistic studies in India and adds to its wealth making the country a paradise for the linguistic worker, is now in the process of being wiped off. These *differentiae* which should in fact add to our knowledge of general linguistics will shortly disappear under the stress of unification which the future of the country demands and which is in any case inevitable owing to industrialisation or urbanisation in con-

sequence. But strange to say, neither European scholars nor Indian linguists themselves have taken sufficient interest in the recording of this rich dialectical material. Any future research within India must necessarily have to do with dialect geography and dialect atlases. Bloch referred to this thirteen years ago in his Furlong Lectures, but evidently he did not take into account the special difficulties in India with regard to such studies. It is one thing to make reference to a specific need and suggest its working out, and quite a different thing to evolve a practical and practicable scheme to be put into action.

It may be questioned here that when we have the great Linguistic Survey of India what is the need of taking dialectology up again for further investigation? But such a question apparently shows ignorance of the facts governing the organisation of this Survey, the manner in which the material was collected and published. Under the conditions governing the entire scheme it is a wonder how Sir George managed to bring it to completion and thus presented to the world a great monument of industry and scholarship; it is indeed a testimony to the great scholarship of the compiler who had also the assistance of such noted linguists as Professor Sten Konow. But any one working with the Survey will at once become acquainted with its evident shortcomings. The records were in the first instance made by people who were not trained linguists, and secondly for comparison the biblical story was not at all a happy choice. Moreover, the material collected and presented does not even cover a hundredth part of what can actually be collected by a properly trained investigator. Under the circumstances we may consider the work of the Linguistic Survey of India by Grierson as a very random sampling of the material, limited to a few hundred vocables and expressions (for a comparative study) and some biblical stories. The wealth of material in each dialect either in the shape of vocables, folk-songs or proverbs remained and still remains untapped. The gains to general and Indian linguistics as well as to Sociology by a proper recording and analysis of this material are unlimited. Besides, the problem of recording these fast disappearing materials is so urgent that a practical scheme should be put under way with the least possible delay.

Institutes devoted entirely to such a study are far too few within the four corners of our country, and in the absence of a central institute like the *Institute d'ethnographie* of Paris, we shall have to take account of existing research institutes for organising these studies on proper lines. Besides the Linguistic Society of India, the Calcutta University, the Deccan College Research Institute and the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan and the Research-branch of the Gujarat Vernacular Society as well as the Karnatak Research Society of Dharwar, may co-operate with the University of Bombay in establishing this aspect of socio-linguistic geography and dialect atlas through its Sociological Department. Co-operation from such well established Universities like those of Madras will readily be forthcoming in furtherance of this scheme, as most of them are engaged in one form or another of research connected with dialectology. The shortcomings in these individual attempts are purely from the formal point of view, in that there is no well co-ordinated and perfectly planned programme of research towards an appointed goal.

In order to make this work possible there should again be a small central organizing core with authority to issue careful instructions to its collaborating workers and to supply them where necessary with the specially designed stationary for the collection of the material. Thus there will be a small book of reference and instructions to guide the field workers and a larger volume (in triplicate) with full printed instructions and the vocables selected in English totalling about 2000 or so whose equivalents will be recorded in the blank space against each for every dialect investigated. Of the triplicate record two copies should be filed with the central office and one may be retained by the field worker concerned. The co-ordinating work of this central office envisages the training of the individual field workers whenever necessary and the assigning to them of the properly planned portion of the work as a whole. In this manner, district by district, province by province, uniform and scientific records of all the dialects will be available within a reasonable period of time. Of the two copies of the records received at the organizing centre, one copy may be filed for the central office and another sent to the local co-operating centre. The material thus gathered will serve as material for a greater, more scientific and

a more perfect Linguistic Survey of India than has been possible hitherto even with a Government Department devoted to it. For apart from the learned personnel specially trained for this work, the supervision exercised by each associate centre under the guidance of the local experts will obviate all mistakes, and in the final utilisation of the material thus sifted the greatest scholars in each branch will be available to lend their learned co-operation in the shaping of the final Survey Volumes. The organizing centre will merely act as a co-ordinating agent or a sort of liason office.

The outcome of this plan will not involve the contributing institutions in any great expense. In the preliminary stages the expense will naturally be connected with the printing and supplying of the instruction and record books so far as the organizing centre is concerned; the local centres may perhaps concern themselves with the ways and means whereby the field workers may be helped to carry on their investigations; if scholars of the various research institutions getting an honorarium from such institutions or Universities arrange to give their services for this kind of work for a part of their term, the organising expenses will be less to that extent. But this is a question to be decided by each constituent body in a way most convenient to itself; but there must be an *honest attempt* at co-operation.

Such field work on an organized basis and with a definite objective will give us, besides the data required, properly qualified and experienced workers to carry on their investigations further by collecting all the material available in each group of dialects, making it possible to edit in a very comprehensive manner dictionaries or lexicons, grammars (naturally descriptive) with exact phonetic description of the phonemes in each language and texts for each dialect or group of dialects.

Regarding dialect atlases it will be necessary to decentralize the work and distribute it to the various co-operating local institutions, expert guidance being always available from the central office. The expenses involved in this dialect geography are considerable and the full time employment in each office of a fully trained draughtsman is essential for the preparation of the individual maps under the guidance of a scholar who is both a linguist and a geographer.

In the matter of dialectal studies we have the brilliant instances of European scholars collecting Indian or Asiatic material; the Norwegian school of Humanistic Studies, for instance, has published a very large collection of such studies in its series. The work on Santali and Mundari has also fallen to their share, and the publications of Bodding or Hofman are too well known to need any special mention here. Of immediately great necessity are such studies in the dialectology of the great literary languages like Bengali, Marāṭhī or Gujarati. Fortunately for Hindi and its numerous dialects the Allahabad school of linguistics under the influence of Dr. Baburam Saksena has made sufficient progress and we may expect good results within the next decade or so. Similarly the individual researches of Prof. Siddheshwar Varma are throwing a flood of light on the lesser known of the Himalayan dialects. The time has now come when organized efforts should be made towards the linking up of all these individual or institutional activities for a common objective.

Time and again I have spoken about the need for the proper study of *nomina propria*, and particularly place-names, for these last are of interest not only to linguists but also to historians and sociologists. Recently a number of papers have appeared in the various learned journals in India dealing with a few aspects of this science; but while they satisfy the immediate needs of the authors of these papers and supply some material for later sifting by those who must ultimately concern themselves with the scientific study of place names, their value is unequal. There are several stages in this work which have got to be separated and separately worked and presented merely as source material in a well analysed form, ready for future use. First and foremost of course comes the work of recording actually current place-names with proper geographical references for locating them exactly on the survey maps. For notwithstanding the great efforts made by the Revenue departments of the various provincial governments or of the Post Office authorities, the names actually recorded so far represent only a small portion of those which need recording. This is a colossal work requiring the consolidated efforts of the different universities and research institutions for a number of years. The material from the Revenue and Postal Departments

will supply a working basis for further recording of these names. It need not be emphasised here that in all such linguistic recording either the I. P. A. notation or an exact roman transliteration should be employed to give the correct pronunciation of the name concerned and here we have only to take the average pronunciation of persons actually born and bred in that particular locality; the variants, if any, may be noted against the name of the informant and all this material should be collected district by district. Here again the method which I have indicated in the beginning of this paper may be followed; or better still, this work may form one of the main planks of the proposed permanent office of the All-India Oriental Conference so that with its prestige and country-wide influence, the work may easily be accomplished within a measurable distance of time.

A second aspect of place-names study involves the study of these names recorded in literature, historical or merely literary. Thus we have access to inscriptions, historical documents or merely secular literature or mainly religious canons of the various faiths current in the country at some period of its history. Here there are several difficulties: we have to identify the place-name with some known locality in the survey maps; and in this we may not always be successful, particularly when the records give very scanty information. If the records have not been properly equipped with modern aids in the shape of *indices verborum* to these names a further effort on the part of those who wish to study them is needed to index them. This is one of the chief difficulties, for instance, with the *Peshwa Daftar*, and its usefulness is limited to that extent. We are more fortunate with the epigraphical records as most of the published volumes in this series by the Government of India are supplied with voluminous indices. When names are found in such records we may either have the means of identifying those places or not. If the place is identified its present name may be connected with the older recorded name or not. Thus there are several aspects to be studied in this connection. But above all we should have information about the actual currency of each name in its space-time context. Thus one of the main attempts by individual scholars in this direction should be the recording and, wherever

possible, the identification on incontrovertible grounds, of all the place-names to be found in dated records. All this work is part of the programme which a Place Names Society in India should have before itself.

Years ago an attempt was made by a German scholar to work up a good lexicon of Prakrits as found in Sanskrit Dramas and he ended up with a grammar of the Prakrit found in the Trivandrum plays attributed to Bhāsa. In the introduction to that *Habilitationschrift* Dr. Printz refers poignantly to his unfinished work and it is really a matter of regret that with his unique opportunities as the Librarian of the German Oriental Society and sound training under Prof. Lüders he has not been able to complete that work. Whatever be our view of the use of Prakrits in Sanskrit plays, the habit had become so deeply rooted that even in the dramas composed after the 14th century A.D. we notice the surreptitious use of Prakrits made by the authors in conformity with the age-old rule. While Prakrits have been deeply studied with reference to the grammatical schools of Vararuci, Caṇḍa, Hemacandra and others, the question of the Prakrits in the Sanskrit plays still remains to be investigated from the linguistic point of view. Manomohan Ghosh, in his recent edition of Karpūramañjarī, brought out the defects of a too great reliance placed on these grammarians to the exclusion of the testimony of our best manuscripts; of course even our best manuscripts are antedated by the earlier of these grammarians, but if we study the Mss. tradition properly we may perhaps be able to check the arguments or doctrines of the old grammatical schools. This study is long over-due for a correct estimate of Middle Indo-Aryan idiom. In spite of the lack of reliable editions a beginning appears to be indicated at the present juncture, for most of the early plays from Aśvaghōṣa's masterpieces downwards are now available to us in some form or other, and a good number of them in critical editions, thanks chiefly to European scholars. Most of the Prakrit Dictionaries recently published give very little emphasis to this variety of Prakrit. The proposed dictionary should be at once an *index verborum* to all the printed Sanskrit or Prakrit plays as well as a well-worked dictionary of such vocables, all in one. This is again a corporate work and it should

not be difficult for a few research institutions to join hands together and work out a practical proposal in this direction.

There are a large number of other desiderata in this field, but those which I have mentioned here seem to need the most urgent attention. I have put them here for the consideration of the proper authorities so that when the time comes for discussion and planning all the constituent bodies will be prepared with their own proposals. In view of the nearness of the two conferences in Hyderabad this year and the possibility of the Oriental Conference having a permanent central Secretariat I believe these suggestions will not be unwelcome in any comprehensive scheme that the conference is likely to beat out of the mass of concrete proposals that are likely to be received for the purpose. Many of the subsidiary or contributory items of research indicated above have been undertaken in the province of Bombay by some of the research institutions, but in the absence of co-ordination and proper co-operation there is bound to be waste of effort and time, and the common objective will still remain as far if it has not already moved further away in the meantime. As mentioned in the beginning of this paper any proposal should satisfy the two conditions: practicability and the assurance of publication. If Linguistics as a science should make any further progress in our country, it should be the serious task of those who organize its pursuit in the country, to take courage in their hands and put schemes of the type adumbrated above into practice and obtain the willing co-operation of universities and associate bodies. In particular, the Linguistic Society of India should revivify its activities and bring fresh life and energy in its movement; both the continuation of serious research as well as the popularisation (but not *vulgarisation*) of it should form part of its daily activities.

ON THE ORIGIN OF UPANIṢADIC THOUGHT

(H. G. Narahari, M.A.)

The word *Upaniṣad* is used in a number of senses, and its exact primary meaning is still doubtful. It is usually derived from the root *sad* 'to sit,' with *upa* and *ni* as affixes, and is translated as 'the knowledge obtained by sitting near (the teacher)'. In the *Brāhmaṇas*,¹ the word normally denotes the 'secret sense' or 'mystic import' of a word or passage, and sometimes the 'secret rule' of the mendicant. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (III. 1. 1) commences with the title '*The Upaniṣad of the Saṁhitā*'² (*athātas saṁhitāyā upaniṣat*). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*³ uses the word to designate a class of writings, existing perhaps at the time, and resembling the Upaniṣads in matter as well as in manner. The sections of the *Taittirīyopaniṣad* always end with the words *ity upaniṣad*. Among Indian writers, *Śaṅkara* understands the word to mean 'that which destroys ignorance by revealing the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit and cutting off the bonds of worldly existence' (*ya imām brahmavidyām upayantyātmabhāvena śraddhābhaktipurassarās santas teṣāṁ garbhajanmajarārogādyanartha-pūgam niśātayati param vā brahma gamayatyavidyādisaṁsāra-kāraṇaṁ cātyantam avasādayati vināśayati tyupaniṣad; upanipūrvasya saderevam arthasmarāṇāt*).⁴ The following traditional etymologies⁵ are also known, though the authors are anonymous:

उपनीय तमात्मानं ब्रह्मापास्तद्वयं यतः ।

निहन्त्यविद्यां तज्जञ्च तस्मादुपनिषद्भवेत् ॥

निहत्यानर्थमूलं स्वाऽविद्यां प्रत्यक्तया परम् ।

नयत्यपास्तसंभेदमतो वोपनिषद्भवेत् ॥

1. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* X. 3. 5. 12; 4. 5. 1.; 5. 1. 1. etc.

2. This title occurs also in the *Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, VII. 2.

3. II. 4. 10; IV. 1. 2.; 5. 11.

4. *Śaṅkara's commentary on Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, p. 9 (V. V. Press Edn.); *Colebrooke* accepting this etymology of the word feels that neither its etymology nor its acceptation has any direct connection with the idea of secrecy, concealment or mystery (*Miscellaneous Essays*, I. 92).

5. Cited in the *Vācaspatyaśāstra*, p. 1222 b.

प्रवृत्तिहेतुमिश्रशेषास्तन्मूलोच्छेदकत्वतः ।
 यतोऽवसादयेद्विद्या तस्मादुपनिषद्भवेत् ॥
 यथोक्तविद्याहेतुत्वाद्ग्रन्थोऽपि तदभेदतः ।
 भवेदुपनिषद्नामा लाङ्गलं जीवनं यथा ॥

Several etymologies have been given by European Scholars also. Thus, *Maxmuller*¹ understands the word to mean first a 'session of pupils', next 'implicit faith' and last, 'truth' or 'divine revelation'. *Oldenberg*² traces the use of the word to the earlier sense of 'worship' (*upāsana*). *Deussen*³ feels that the original sense must have been 'secret word', next 'secret text', and then 'secret import'. To *Hopkins*⁴ the Upanishad denotes but "a subsidiary treatise". But *Keith*⁵ is right in pointing out that the evolution of meaning suggested by *Deussen* is improbable and that *Hopkins'* view is untenable on the ground that it comes into conflict with the popular view which always understands the word in the sense of a text giving a 'secret meaning'.

Whatever might have been the original meaning of the word it is clear from the above discussion that it means some text which has a 'secret teaching' to give.

Indian tradition, which considers the *Upanishads* as parts of the Vedic Literature, calls them the *Vedānta* i. e. the final portion of the Veda, the earlier portion being composed of the *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas*; the *Samhitās* mainly consist of hymns, prayers and spells addressed to the different gods, and the *Brāhmaṇas* are ritualistic treatises whose chief purpose is to explain and indicate the sacrificial application

1. *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 318 ff.; *Macdonell History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 204; *St. Petersburg Lexicon*, p. 957.

2. *Die Literatur des Alten Indien*, p. 72; *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. L., p. 437; Vol. LIV, p. 70; *Die Lehre der Upanishaden*, pp. 37, 348. *Keith* disagrees with *Oldenberg* saying that, in Upanishadic literature, the sense mentioned by him is conveyed by the word *upasad* which is clearly distinguishable from the word *Upanisad*, and that the idea of reverence or worship must have passed away at an early date from its original sense. (*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 492)

3. *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 16 ff.;

4. *Religions of India*, p. 218.

5. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, I. 92.

of the hymns contained in the *Samhitās*; the *Āraṇyakas* are texts intended to supplement the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the *Upaniṣads* usually form the final portion of these texts,¹ so that it can safely be said that 'the *Brāhmaṇas* shade of imperceptibly into the *Āraṇyakas*, and the *Āraṇyakas* shade of into the *Upaniṣads* without violent change of any kind.'²

The apparent dissimilarity, in matter as well as in manner, between the *Upaniṣads* and the earlier Vedic Literature, has made some scholars³ doubt in this traditional belief⁴ that there is continuity of thought from the *Samhitās* down to the *Upaniṣads*. These scholars imagine that, at the time when the Brahmins were still engaged in their sacrifices and rituals, there arose in the rival camp of the Kṣatriyas a new but developed type of thought which later got the name of the *Upaniṣads*.⁵ One reason that is advanced to support this supposition is that Upaniṣadic thought is incompatible with the spirit of the Brahmin priests who 'lived by sacrifices', and that this kind of thought is possible only amongst people whose scepticism prevented them from being in sympathy with sacrifices.⁶ Garbe⁷ is perhaps the most enthusiastic advocate of this view. Disgusted as he is with

1. The *Isa Upaniṣad* and the *Śivasāṅkalpa* form part of the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, but these two point out the exception rather than rule.

2. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 492.

3. Garbe, *Beitr. Zur Ind. Kulturgeschichte*, pp. 3 ff.; *Hindu Monism*, pp. 68 ff.; Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, pp. 17 ff.; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I. 226 ff.; Hertel, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XLI. 188.

4. C. R. Lanman (*Beginnings of the Hindu Pantheism*, p. 12) also agrees with this view when he says "There is no abrupt break in the course of development from the old Brahman religion to that of the Upaniṣads. The men who saw a new light felt that, they were 'not come to destroy but to fulfill' ". Edgerton's view in this case is more pronounced when he maintains that 'every idea contained in at least the older Upaniṣads, with almost no exceptions, is not new to the Upaniṣads, but can be found set forth, or at least very clearly fore-shadowed, in the older Vedic texts' [*J.A.O.S.* (1916), XXXVI. 197 ff.]; for a similar view, see H. Oertel, *Oriental Studies in Honour of C. E. Pavry*, pp. 353 ff.; Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, pp. 220 ff.; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, pp. 493 ff.

5. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 231; Deussen, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

6. Winternitz, *loc. cit.*

7. Garbe, *op. cit.*, cited by Bloomfield, *loc. cit.*, where he refutes the view in an excellent manner.

the intolerable pretensions and tyrannies practised by the priests in Brahmanical India, he can consider the Brahmin priest proficient only at "excogitating sacrifice after sacrifice, and hairsplitting definitions and explanations of senseless ritualistic hocus-pocus. All at once lofty thought appears on the scene. To be sure, even then the traditional god-lore, sacrificial-lore, and folk-lore are not rejected, but the spirit is no longer satisfied with the cheap mysteries that surround the sacrificial altar. A passionate desire to solve the riddle of the universe and its relation to the own self holds the mind captive: nothing less will satisfy henceforth". The Brahmins by themselves are bold bad men who were too stupid to have worked their way 'from the sandy wastes of ritualism to the green summits where grows the higher thought of India; and the birth of philosophy in India is due to the endeavours of the Kṣatriyas rather than to that of the Brahmins. The Kṣatriyas revolted from the sacrifice and introduced a monist philosophy centring in the idea of *Brahman*, presumably appropriated by them, with a curious sense of humour, from their rivals.¹

*Hertel*² advocates the same view on the ground that the Kṣatriyas are the rationalists of the Upaniṣadic age who, unable to believe in the old Vedic gods, substituted instead the idea of nature powers, called by them *faute de mieux*, and propounded a philosophy which was essentially a monism atheistic, materialistic, and morally indifferent. Granting that this is a fact, it has to be doubted whether, by this reasoning, *Hertel* is really complimenting the Kṣatriyas whom he is seen so anxious to praise.

Revolutions are exceptional phenomena of very rare occurrence, more so especially in the realm of thought, and it is always very difficult to believe in the sudden evolution of a new idea or a doctrine. Still greater is this difficulty if the birth of a lofty conception should be attributed to the influence of a people who, by nature, show the least relation with such a kind of avocation. Of such a nature is the above assertion that philosophic speculation in India took birth among the Kṣatriyas.

1. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 494; Keith rightly points out here that no where do we hear of the common populace demanding a monist philosophy.
2. *op. cit.*, cited by Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

rather than the Brahmins.¹ It is difficult to understand how the Kṣatriyas, whose primary duty is to wield weapons in war, could have the tendency to resort to philosophic speculation, and how they were more fitted to indulge in this than the Brahmins. Philosophic reflection has nearer connection with Brahminhood rather than royalty. The RV. and the philosophical portions of the AV. contain the germs of almost all the conceptions that form the basis of Upaniṣadic thought. The YV. which is purely liturgical in character gives unprecedented importance to *Prajāpati* whose description in this Saṁhitā points him out as the clear precursor of the later Upaniṣadic *Brahman*. Nor is it right to think that the sacrifices taught in the *Brāhmaṇas* are opposed to the idea of philosophic speculation. Belief in the importance of sacrifices, which is necessarily followed by the conviction that the godly sacrificers attain heaven while the unbelieving non-sacrificers and the vicious fall into hell, represents but an early stage in the evolution of human thought. When the seers later realised the inadequacy of a retribution after death which is just rather than merciful, rigorous rather than educative, they evolved in course of time, in the Upaniṣadic period, the theory of Karma and Transmigration which, far from being the theory of a pessimistic people, is the result of the healthy reflection of thoughtful minds.² Garbe³ feels that the theory of transmigration originated among

1. Similar in nature is the attempt to attribute Buddhism and the Sāṁkhya philosophy to Kṣatriyas (See V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 47) where he feels that Buddhism originaed among Kṣatriyas of Mongolian origin; and Garbe (*Sāṁkhya Philosophie*, pp. 5 ff.) who lays stress on the unbrahmanical character of the Sāṁkhya philosophy, and attributes it to the influence of the Kṣatriyas. Pargiter's attempt (*Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, p. 58 ff.) to prove that there are two distinct types of tradition traceable in ancient India, one of the Brahmins and the other of the Kṣatriyas, is also an effort in the same direction.

2. For a vindication of this view, see my paper *The Message of the Theory of Karma in the Aryan Path*, Vol. XI, pp. 603 ff.

3. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 494; that the Upaniṣads teach a monistic philosophy is not certain. A careful study of them shows that they represent no single unified system, but a set of unconnected views held by the diverse thinkers of the time (See my paper, *The Meaning of Brahman and Ātman in the Rgveda* in course of publication in the *Indian Culture*); cf. F. Edgerton, J. A. O. S. (1916), p. 197, where he says that the Upaniṣads as a whole

the Kṣatriyas as a necessary corollary of their monistic philosophy in the Upaniṣadic age, and that the Brahmins, pressed by popular opinion, later incorporated it into their creed. But this view cannot be accepted because it is clear that the kernel of this theory is already found in the *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas*, and that it was left to the Upaniṣadic sect only to consolidate and develop the eschatological conceptions of the earlier period.¹ There are, therefore, surer grounds to hold that there is a gradual development of thought from the time of the *Samhitās* down to that of the *Upaniṣads*, than to indulge in such unsupportable conjectures as the sudden appearance of the latter kind of thought among the Kṣatriyas.

The so-called textual evidence for this theory which is often claimed is also not quite sound. *Deussen* bases his conclusion on the following stories found in the Upaniṣads : The *Chândogya Upaniṣad* (V. 11 ff) narrates the story how five Brahmins who first solicited *Uddālaka Āruṇi* to instruct them concerning *Ātman Vairośānara*, went with the latter, on his expressing his inability to answer them, to King *Aśvapati Kaikeya* who, however did not fail to satisfy their demands. The same Upaniṣad elsewhere² speaks of two Brahmins who were instructed by King *Pravāhaṇa Jaivali* concerning *Ākāśa*, as the ultimate substratum of all things. In another tract³ of this Upaniṣad we are told that this instruction had been previously imparted to *Atidhanvan* to *Udaraśāṇḍilya*, but *Deussen* would conjecture even here, on the basis of names, that it is a Kṣatriya who imparts instruction to a Brahmin here also. Still another context⁴ of this Upaniṣad gives the story of how *Nārada* approaches *Sanatkumāra*, and how the latter, on hearing the former recount all that he had learnt till then, pronounces

proclaim no philosophical system, nor anything that even remotely resembles a single unified philosophical system. The same opinion is expressed by R. E. Hume, *Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, p. 9.

1. See my paper *On the Origin of the Doctrine of Saṃsāra* in the *Poona Orientalist*, IV. 159 ff.

2. I. 8. ff.

3. I. 9. 3.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

5. Chap. VII.

that as a study in name (*nāmaiva etat*). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (II. 1.) likewise gives the story¹ of *Bālāki Gārgya* who, offering before King *Ajātaśatru* to expound the doctrine of *Brahman*, is able to give only *twelve* definitions all of which are pointed out to be erroneous by the King who later instructs him in the proper doctrine. The King is stated here to preface his teaching with the remark that it is against the rule that the doctrine of *Brahman* should be explained by a Kṣatriya to a Brahmin who approaches him in the capacity of a pupil. The doctrine of transmigration² is said to have been propounded by *Pravāhaṇa Jaivali* in the form of a teaching to *Āruṇi*. The King says here to the Brahmin, "Because, as you have told me, O Gautama, this doctrine has never up to the present time been in circulation among the Brahmins, therefore in all the worlds the government has remained in the hands of the warrior caste."

King *Ajātaśatru*'s remark in the fourth story that it is contrary to the rule that a Brahmin should go as a pupil to a Kṣatriya cannot be an evidence to prove that Upaniṣadic speculation was the monopoly of the Kṣatriyas. It proves, on the contrary, that such discourses are proper only to Brahmins and that it was very rarely that a Kṣatriya commanded such a knowledge.³ If *Sanatkumāra* pointed out that all non-upaniṣadic knowledge possessed by *Nārada* was of no use, it is possible to infer only that non-upaniṣadic knowledge compared with that pertaining to the Upaniṣads is useless. Surely, this story cannot point out that Upaniṣadic thought is the prerogative of the Kṣatriyas. *Pravāhaṇa Jaivali*'s concluding remark to *Āruṇi* that the doctrine of transmigration was till then unknown to the Brahmins and that the Kṣatriyas were hence supreme, is nothing more than an empty vaunt. Seeing that royalty can have no

1. The *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, (Chap. IV) has a parallel passage.

2. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V. 3 ff.; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, V. 2; the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (I) has slight variations.

3. Cf. *Kumārila* who observes that the teachings of Buddha cannot command confidence, because he is a Kṣatriya and is transgressing his *Dharma* in his attempt to teach, which is essentially the privilege of the Brahmin (*Śākyaśīlavacanāni..... buddhādibhiḥ prapñitāni.....; svadharmā-tikramena ca yena Kṣatriyeṇa satā pravakīrtvaprati-grahau pratipannau sa dharmam avi-plutam upadekṣyati ti kaḥ samāśvāsaḥ—Tantravārtika* on *Jaimini* I. 3. 2, p. 195 (Anandaśrama Edn.)

natural connection with the theory of Karma, and that the germs of the latter theory are clearly found in the earlier Vedic literature, this boastful utterance cannot merit any serious attention.

*Winternitz*¹ draws in the evidence of the following stories from the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* in this context. In the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (XXVI. 5), King *Pratardana* converses with the priests concerning the sacrificial science. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI), the story is told how King *Janaka* confounded all the priests by his knowledge and how *Yājñavalky*, who was one of them, later approaches *Janaka* for instruction. In the *Upaniṣads*, *Satyakāma* of dubious parentage was instructed in the highest knowledge,² and Brahmins like *Gautama*, father of *Śvetaketu*, and *Uddālaka Āruṇi* are spoken of as being instructed by Kṣatriyas like King *Pravāhaṇa Jaivali* and *Aśvapati*. The fact that numerous references are thus available to point out that not merely Kṣatriyas and other non-brahmanical races but also women like *Gārgī* and *Maitreyī* were connected with the intellectual life and literary activity of ancient times, and the fact that very often the Kṣatriyas are spoken of as the teachers of Brahmins in some of the most intricate doctrines of the *Upaniṣads*, is sufficient proof for *Winternitz* to conclude that "while the Brahmins were pursuing their barren sacrificial science, other circles were already engaged upon those higher questions which were at last treated so admirably in the *Upaniṣads*".³ The story of *Satyakāma* cannot prove *Winternitz*'s proposition. We are told that *Gautama* who is approached by *Satyakāma* for instruction consents to do so only after he has made sure that his would-be pupil is a Brahmin. *Satyakāma* is unable to give his *gotra*, the surest identification of a Brahmin but is at least honest enough to narrate faithfully what his mother told him about his birth. *Gautama* is convinced that *Satyakāma* must be a Brahmin because he has been truthful, and accepts him as a pupil with the remark: "No one but a true Brahmin would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, my boy, and I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth." Does not this story point out that only Brahmins were entitled for

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 227 ff.

2. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, IV. 4.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

instruction in the highest knowledge in these times, because of their uprightness which was unparalleled? The other stories, no doubt, prove that the Kṣatriyas and others were connected with the literary activity of the time, but it is too much to conclude on their basis that the Kṣatriyas were the sole custodians of this kind of thought. The Upaniṣads themselves speak very often of certain Brahmin thinkers who proved themselves immeasurably supreme to the Kṣatriyas. There is perhaps no Kṣatriya in the entire Upaniṣadic age who can rival *Yājñavalkya* in eminence. The influential position occupied by this sage at the court of King *Janaka* is alluded to very often in the Upaniṣads, and one portion of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* is denominated the *Yājñavalkyakāṇḍam*, as specially celebrating the victorious exploits of *Yājñavalkya* over his contemporary rivals.¹ Such is the enthusiasm of King *Janaka* when he felt himself overpowered by the brilliance with which *Yājñavalkya* expounded *Brahman*, that he cries out "Here, O *Yājñavalkya*, is my kingdom, and here am I at your service".² The *Maitri Upaniṣad* (I. 1 ff.) records the story of King *Bṛhadratha* who, filled with remorse, went to the sage *Śākāyana*, and implored him to help him out of the world of existence.

Many of the stories mentioned above do speak of Brahmins being outwitted by Kṣatriyas and of getting instruction at their hands. The authority of these stories cannot be denied, though it can be pointed out that even these cannot prove that Upaniṣadic thought was monopolized by the Kṣatriyas. If the accounts given of Brahmins being defeated in debate at the hands of Kṣatriyas can be used to prove that the latter were the sole custodians of Upaniṣadic thought, the stories which speak of the triumph of Brahmins like *Yājñavalkya* over the Kṣatriyas can be adduced to prove the contrary. The fact that definite evidences are available of Brahmins being engaged in literary activities from very early times is an additional evidence to support the latter proposition, and the conclusion is inevitable that the Brahmins were the originators of this kind of thought and that the Kṣatriyas derive their knowledge from them.

1. Cf. Maxmuller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 329.

2. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV. 2. 4.

If Upaniṣadic thought should thus be the logical development of the earlier speculations of the Brahmins, it may be asked how the Kṣatriyas came to gain so much proficiency in it. The question is easily answered. The Upaniṣadic age was a time when the courts of princes served as the debating halls where erudite but indigent Brahmins exhibited their skill in philosophical discourse and obtained their livelihood as the reward. *Janaka*, on seeing *Yājñavalkya* enter his court, asks him what brought him there, whether it was the need of cattle or of subtle discussion, and the latter replies that he was in dire need of both.¹ It is quite possible that each prince who was the witness of many a debate of this kind was quite conversant with many an intricate point in philosophy. We thus hear of King *Janaka* tell *Yājñavalkya*, when the latter came to him to demonstrate his skill, that *Jitvan Śaivalini* told him that *vāk* is Brahman, that according to *Udānka Śaulbāyana*, *prāṇa* is so, *caḥṣus* according to *Barku Vārṣṇa*, *śrotam* according to *Gardabhīvipīta Bharadvāja* and so on.² Princes like these who had opportunities of learning by listening and witnessing, may naturally have proved superior to many a Brahmin thinker who tried to expound his own theory. This explains the accounts given of many brahmin thinkers who are reported to have been confounded by princes.

The safest conclusion in this respect is, therefore, that while sacrifices and other rituals were restricted to men, and, among them, to Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and other non-brahmanical races, and even women were allowed to participate in philosophical discussions,³ and that, in Upaniṣadic times, as in modern days, intellectual activity was thrown open to all, irrespective of caste or sex.

1. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV. 1.

2. *Ibid.*

3. See my paper *The Meaning of Brahman and Ātman in the Rigveda* (note 60) mentioned before; cf. R. D. Ranade, *Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy*, pp. 61 ff.; S. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I. 34 ff.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CIMANĪ-CARITA

A ROMANTIC LOVE-POEM BY A PUPIL OF BHATTOJI DIKṢITA
DEALING WITH THE LOVE OF THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW OF
ALLĀH VARDĪ KHĀN TURKMĀN (BETWEEN A.D. 1606-1659)

(P. K. Gode)

Mr. Q. M. Moneer¹ has recently published three Persian inscriptions² of Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān from the ancient hill-forts in the Nasik District of the Bombay Presidency. They are engraved on rocks in the Sātmāla ranges on which are erected the ancient forts of Indrā'i, Chāndor and Dhodap. They were inscribed in the name of and very probably at the instance of Allāh Vardī Khān himself, who conquered not only the forts on which they are carved, but thirteen other forts in the same area, which are mentioned by name in two of these three inscriptions. Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān of the inscriptions claimed descent from a Sovereign of Central Asia of the name Sultān Sanjar (A. D. 1086-1157). The chronology of Allāh Vardī Khān's life as recorded by Mr. Moneer (on p. 9) is as follows:—

A. D.	Particulars. <i>AVK</i> = Allāh Vardī Khān
1606-1627	— <i>AVK</i> came to India. Through his brother Mukhlis Khān, already companion to Prince Parviz <i>AVK</i> was presented at the Court of Emperor Jahangir.
1626	— <i>AVK</i> , appointed Superintendent of hunting excursions.

1. *Epi. Indo—Moslemica* (1937-38) pp. 7-13.

2. *Ibid.* Vide plate IV—(a) at Chandor, dated 20th March 1636 (b) at Indrā'i (in the Chandor Taluka) dated 24th March 1636, V (a)—at Dhodap (in Kālvān Taluka) dated 29th June 1636. Mr. Moneer states (p. 13) that "barring a few minor variations the details embodied in them (inscriptions) are faithfully corroborated by the relevant contemporary Chronicles of the reign of Shah Jahān, which were being registered at a great distance from the scene of the occurrences mentioned in these inscriptions."

A. D.	Particulars. <i>AVK</i> =Allāh Vardī Khān
1627	— <i>AVK</i> , attached to Mahābat Khān, Khān Khānān for active service in the field.
1636	— <i>AVK</i> appointed Warden of Lucknow, Muttra, and Delhi in succession.
1653	— <i>AVK</i> , accompanied Dārā Shukoh for the capture of Qandhār from the King of Persia.
	—Shah Jahān deprives <i>AVK</i> of his title and rank but assigns to him the revenues of <u>Shankarpur</u> paragana as pension.
	— <i>AVK</i> , re-employed in charge of Elichpur and later made Governor of Berar.
	— <i>AVK</i> , involved in a misunderstanding and recalled and confined in his own house at Delhi.
	—Re-employed as administrator of Jaunpūr and later made Governor of Bihar.
1657	— <i>AVK</i> , unwilling to oppose Shāh Shujā, retired to Benares, where Shujā persuaded him to join his cause. When Shujā set out from Benares <i>AVK</i> changed his mind and with all his adherents returned to Benares and shut himself up in his house. Shujā returned and by false means got hold of <i>AVK</i> and his son Saifullāh. The father and the son were then paraded on elephant's back through the City of Benares and put to death.

The above history of *AVK*'s career at the Mughal Court as recorded by Mr. Moneer shows *AVK*'s importance at the Imperial Court, though unfortunately it had a sad end. This history is based on contemporary Persian Chronicles. I propose to record in this paper some interesting information about the household affairs of *AVK* as revealed in a Sanskrit poem called the *Cimanī-carita*,¹ composed by Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla in A.D. 1650.

1. Vide my paper on the date of *Cimanī-carita* in *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. IX, pp. 331-332.

I shall prove in a special paper, that this author is identical with Nilakaṇṭha Śukla, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, who composed a grammatical work called the *Śabda-Śobhā* in A.D. 1637.¹ From these dates of the works of Nilakaṇṭha Śukla it is clear that he was a contemporary of *AVK*. This contemporaneity coupled with the contact of *AVK* between A.D. 1656 and 1657 with the City of Benares, where *AVK* and his son met their sad end, leads me to infer that Benares Pandits must have been well aware of the life-history of *AVK* then current in Benares academic circles which were in the favour of Dārā Shukoh, who met his death almost in the same manner in which *AVK* and his son were put to death by Dārā's brother Shujā. My inference further gets support from the contact of Dārā with *AVK* in A.D. 1653, in which year *AVK* accompanied Dārā to Qandhār to capture that city from the king of Persia. It is thus possible to suppose that Nilakaṇṭha Śukla residing at Benares and composing his works in A.D. 1637 and 1656 must have been fully aware of the personal history of *AVK* through some Pandits of Benares in direct contact with Dārā Shukoh. If this position is accepted we can easily explain how Nilakaṇṭha Śukla composed his poem *Cimanī-carita* (in A.D. 1656 *i.e.* one year before the death of *AVK* at Benares) in which a Muslim noble of the name "अलह-विर्दीखान" is actually mentioned. In fact this romantic poem is based on a contemporary scandal developed in the harem of Alaha Virdī Khān mentioned in the poem. I am of opinion that the Muslim noble "अलहविर्दीखान" of *Cimanī-carita* is identical with Allāh Vardī Khān of the inscriptions dated A.D. 1636, in which year Nilakaṇṭha composed his work at Benares called the *Śabdaśobhā*. Before I mention my points of identity it is necessary to give the reader an idea of the contents of this short poem called the *Cimanī-carita* in which *Cimanī*² is the heroine

1. Vide *Annals* (Tirupati Institute) Vol. I, Pt. 2, page 122 of my paper on the date of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

2. The name *Cimanī* is often found in the Deccan as the name of a woman. Perhaps the heroine *Cimanī* may have been a Hindu lady or may have been the daughter of a Hindu lady admitted into the Muslim harem and then converted to Muslim faith. The sojourn of Allāh Vardī Khān in the Deccan in A.D. 1636 for conquering the forts in the Nasik District may explain the Marāṭhā name "*Cimanī*" of our heroine. "*Cimanī*" means a sparrow and by metaphor is applied to young ladies as a pet name.

belonging to the harem of this Muslim noble. Her relation to Allāh Virdī Khān is clear from the following stanza (52) of the poem :—

“ यासावासीदलहविरदीज्येष्ठबंधोस्तनूजा
 भार्यात्वं चालहविरदीज्येष्ठसूनोरयासीत् ।
 याता ह्यातिं जगति चिमनीत्याक्षया या गवाक्षे
 देवादेशात्कचिदथ दयादेवमेपा ददर्श ॥ ५२ ॥ ”

Cimanī was, therefore, the daughter of the elder brother of *Alaha Virdī Khān* and at the same time his daughter-in-law, being the wife of his eldest son. Her romantic love with *Dayādeva* mentioned in the above stanza is the theme of the poem. In Stanza 1 *Dayādeva Śarmā* is introduced as a handsome youth. In St. 2 his beauty and youth are described as bewitching to the ladies of the harem of *Alaha Virdī Khān*. *Dayādeva* approached the *Khān* for some employment and was appointed as a tutor to the ladies of his harem (St. 3). The *Khān* ordered an old lady of the name *Mānikā* to attend during the time of instruction imparted to the young ladies (St. 4). Further as a precaution against the possibility of any workings of the Cupid in the harem, consequent upon such factors as the beauty and youth of the ladies, the presence of a Brahmin *guru* of a youthful age and the privacy of the harem, the *Khān* appointed a Chamberlain of the name *Anīśa* to keep a watch during the time of the lessons (St. 5–6). But these arrangements of the *Khān* proved futile and the Chamberlain *Anīśa* proved of no avail in preventing the mischievous activities of the God of Love (St. 7). The poet then describes these workings of the Cupid in a charming manner. In Stanza 52 we are introduced to the heroine of the poem viz. *Cimanī*, the daughter of the elder brother of *Alaha Virdī Khān*, who was at the same time the wife of the eldest son of this *Khān*. *Cimanī* falls in love with *Dayādeva Śarmā* and the poet describes their course of love in the latter half of the poem. In St. 67 we find two names मुखलिस and झाफरीय आलय or the house of Jāfar (*Khān*). *Mukhalis*¹ was the

1. In the account of *AVK* given by Mr. Moncer we are told that *Mukhlis Khān* was the brother of *AVK*. This brother was companion of Prince Parviz between A.D. 1606 and 1627. Through *Mukhlis Khān AVK* was

elder brother of *Alaha Virdī Khān* while *Jāsar*¹ was the name of *Cimanī*'s husband. *Mukhalis* is again referred to in St. 71 by the poet.

Jāsar mentined in the *Cimanī-carita* (St. 67) must be distinguished from *Jāsar Khān* (mentioned by Bernier)² who was the Prime Minister of Aurangzeb. Bernier³ refers to the perfidy of one *Allah-verdi-khān* with *Sultan Sujah*. This Khān may be identical with *AVK* of the *Cimanī-carita* and of Mr. Moneer's inscriptions of A.D. 1636.

The love between *Cimanī* and *Dayādeva* developed intensely in course of time but *Cimanī* was curious to know if *Dayādeva* was really a *Hindu* :—

“हिंदू काय ब्रजसि हृदयं कुत्र मे चोरयित्वा

लब्धोऽसि त्वं कथमपि मया मृत्युसाधनश्रिरेण ॥ ८७ ॥”

Dayādeva replied that he was a Brahmin and showed her his *Yajñopavīta* (sacred thread)

“विप्रोऽहं तत् प्रणयपदवीं तेऽधिगन्तु न योग्यो”

Cimanī said :—

“मेवं ब्रूयाः पुनरपि सखे योग्य एवासि यस्मात्.”

presented at the court of Jahangir. It seems that *Cimanī* the heroine of the *Cimanīcarita* was the daughter of this *Mukhalis Khān* mentioned by our poet.

1. Vide p. 186 of *Bernier's Travels* (1656-1668) Constable, London, 1891— Among partisans of Aurangzeb Bernier mentions “the son of that *Allah-verdikan*, whose advice cost *Sultan Sujāh* the battle of *Kadjoie*, was made Governor of *Scimdy*.” The Editor remarks “*Jāsar Khān*, appointed Subadar of *Allahabad*, where he died in 1669 (Beale)” and identifies the son of *AVK* with *Jāsar Khān*. If this identification is correct the *Jāsar* of *Cimanī-carita* was the son of *AVK*, husband of *Cimanī* and the son-in-law of *AVK*'s brother *Mukhalis Khān*. The love of *Cimanī* with a Brahmin youth *Dayādeva* was of course an extra-marital affair.

2. Vide *Bernier's Travels* p. 271—foot-note 4— “*Jāsar Khān* entitled *Umdat-ul-Mulk* was appointed Prime Minister by Aurangzeb (*Alamgir*) in 1662 and died in 1670 at *Dehli*. He was the son of *Sādik Khān*, a cousin of *Nūr Jahān*'s, who had married one of her sisters hence his kinship to Aurangzeb.”

3. Ibid, p. 77—footnote 1— “*Aliwardi Khān*, Governor of *Patna*, who espoused the cause of *Sultan Sujah*, whom he followed to *Bengal*, where he was killed in July 1659.” Cf. Mr. Moneer's account of *AVK*'s life where *AVK* is said to have been put to death in A. D. 1657 at *Benares* (*Epi. Ind. Moslemica*—1937-38, p. 9. Did *AVK* die in A.D. 1657 or 1659 ?

Dayādeva :—

“ त्वन्माधुर्ये यदवधि मनोमग्नमासीन्ममासं
विप्रोऽहं तत् प्रभृति पुरतः पश्य यज्ञोपवीतं ॥ ८८ ॥ ”

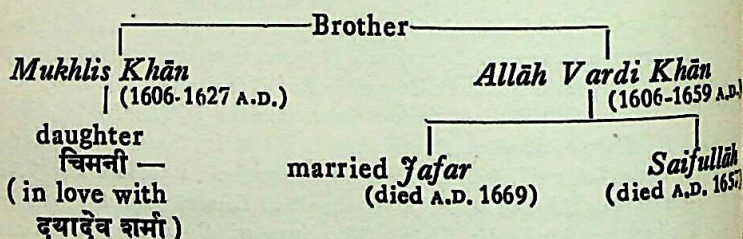
The two lovers passed their time happily as stated in St. 101 which conclude's the romantic poem :—

“ अनुनिशमवशिष्टं कर्तुमासीन्न किञ्चित्
किमपि न कृतमेव प्रत्यभानुग्रभाते ।
यवनिपतितनूजे प्रोषिते भाग्यभाजो—
रिति विविधविलासैर्वासराणि व्यतीयुः ॥ १०१ ॥ ”

The poet is conscious of the beauty of this romantic poem as depicted by him :—

“ रस एव स ईश्वरः श्रुताविति निर्णीतमतोऽभिधीयते ।
चिमनीचरिते रसाश्रितं वचनं चेन्न मम श्रमः श्रमः ॥ १०२ ॥ ”

The poem seems to be a true story based on a contemporary love affair developed in the harem of *Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān*. Whether any echo of this love story is found in Parsian Sources, I cannot say at present as I am not conversant with these sources. With a view to help further investigation of this story I represent its historical back-ground with the persons concerned in it as follows :—



The following table will show persons identified by me on the strength of *Cimanī-carita* and other sources :—

<i>Cimanī-carita</i> = CC (A.D. 1656)	Persian Sources (=P) and Nasik Inscriptions (=N)
(1) <i>Alaha Virdī Khān</i> called मलेखाधीश, यवनपति in CC.	(1) <i>Allāh Virdī Khān Turkmān</i> (N and P)

- (2) *Cimanī* is called
 “अलहबिरदीज्येष्टबंधोः तनूजा”
 & “अलहबिरदीज्येष्टसूनोः भार्या”
 (in CC. St. 52)

- (3) *Mukhalisa* (mentioned in CC, Stanzas 67, 71)

- (4) *Jāfar* (mentioned in CC St. 67)

- (3) *Mukhlis Khan* (P)
 companion to Prince
 Parviz (1606–1629 A.D.)

- (4) *Jāfar Khān*, son of *AVK*
 (Beale). Bernier refers
 to Jāfar but not by name.

The occurrence of the names *Alaha Virdī Khān*, *Mukhlis*, and *Jāfar* in the *Cimanī-carita* composed in A.D. 1656 by a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and their identification in other sources dealing with the life-history of *Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān* is not a mere coincidence. We are, therefore, fully justified in presuming that the author of this romantic poem was in full knowledge of the love affair of the daughter-in-law of the celebrated Muslim noble of Shah Jahān's Court. It appears that this noble who employed a Brahmin tutor for the ladies of his household may have patronised another Pandit of the name *Lal Bihari*¹ who is the author of a Persian version of *Mitākṣarā* composed in A.D. 1657 or so.

As the poem *Cimanī-carita* is not a historical Kāvya we cannot expect any history in it pertaining to the careers of the members of the family of *Allāh Vardī Khān*. In the foregoing study I have used two rare Manuscripts of the poem in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute viz. No. 357 of 1884–87 and No. 698 of 1886–92. One of these MSS is dated *Samvat 1764* = A.D. 1708 while the other is dated *Samvat 1800* = A.D. 1744. I propose to publish the text of this poem after some time in collaboration with my friend Dr. Har Datt Sharma. I read the Mss of this poem about 15 years ago but I could not then determine with certainty its historical background.

1. Vide p. 228 of *Archaeological Survey of India* (1929–30) where Mr. Moneer has written a note on the Persian version of the *Mitākṣarā*. May I request Mr. Moneer to examine the possible identity of Allavardi, patron of Lal Bihari with Allāvardi Khān Turkmān?

Contemporary *Kāvya*s, though not exactly of the historical type, have a value of their own in giving to the history of a period that colour which is sometimes lacking in the dynastic and political history of the same period. Poetry as a reflection of contemporary life cannot fail to enrich the cultural history of a period, provided we are able to penetrate the gossamer of the poet's idealized narration and plant our feet on the *terra firma* of historical truth. I feel confident that close students of the Persian sources of the Mughal period will throw more light on the subject of this paper than what I have been able to do by presenting some new material regarding the household affairs of *Allāh Vardī Khān* Turkmān.

The *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Thomas William Beale (London, 1894), p. 47 contains biographies of three persons of the name *Alahwirdi Khan* (or more correctly *Ilahwirdi Khan*). Two of these persons are mentioned in *Cimanī-carita* as *Alaha Virdī Khān* and *Jāfar* respectively. Their biographies as given by Beale may be recorded here :—

(1) "*Alahwirdi Khan*— a nobleman of the reign of Emperor *Jahangir*. He was raised to the rank of 5000 in the time of *Shah Jahan* and held several offices of importance. He was appointed Governor of Patna and espoused the cause of Sultan Shujā, brother of Aurangzeb A.D. 1558 (A.H. 1068) and after the defeat of Shujā accompanied him to Bengal where he was slain together with his son Saif-ullah, by order of the prince in July A.D. 1659 (Zil-qa'da A.H. 1069)."

(2) "*Alahwirdi Khan* or more correctly *Ilahwirdi Khān* title of *Jāfar Khān*, the son of *Ilahwirdi Khān* the first. He was raised to the rank of an Amir by 'Alamgir' with the title of *Ilahwirdi Khān 'Alamgir-Shāhī'*. He was appointed Subadar of Allahabad where he died in A.D. 1669 (A.H. 1079). He was an excellent poet and has left a *Diwān*."

The data recorded in this paper amply proves that the poem *Cimanī-carita* is based on a true story of the love affair of the daughter-in-law of *Allāvardi Khān* Turkmān. The chronology pertaining to the author of the poem and the historical persons connected with the poem may be represented as follows to enable

the students of Persian sources of the Mughal history to trace, if possible, any references to this love affair in these sources say between A.D. 1620 and 1660:—

A. D.	Particulars
	<i>AVK</i> = Allāh Vardi Khān Turkmān. <i>NS</i> = Nilakanṭha Śukla.
1606-1627	<i>AVK</i> came to India and was presented to the Mughal Court through his brother <i>Mukhliskhān</i> .
1626	<i>AVK</i> made Superintendent of hunting excursions.
1627	<i>AVK</i> attached to Mahābat Khān for service in the field.
1636	<i>AVK</i> conquers Nasik forts according to inscriptions)
1637	<i>NS</i> composed his work on grammar called the <i>Śabdaśobhā</i> .
1653	<i>AVK</i> accompanied Dārā Shukoh to Persia for the capture of Qandhār.
1656	<i>NS</i> composed <i>Cimanī-carita</i> which mentions <i>Alla Vardī Khān</i> , <i>Mukhalisa</i> , <i>Jāfar</i> .
1657	<i>AVK</i> was captured by Shujā at his house in Benares and put to death along with his son <i>Saifullāh</i> for faithlessness.
1659	According to Beale <i>AVK</i> and his son <i>Saifullāh</i> were slain in Bengal by order of Shujā.
C. 1659	Aurangzeb raises Jāfar Khān to the rank of an Amīr. (Beale)
1669	Death of Jāfar Khān at Allahabad, where he was Subadar.

In the present paper I have presumed that Jāfar Khān, the son of *AVK* was the husband of Cimanī, the heroine of the *Cimanī-carita*. Jāfar Khān's brother Saifullāh and his father *AVK* were slain by Sultan Shujā either in A.D. 1657 at Benares or in A.D. 1659 in Bengal. Jāfar died in A.D. 1669 i.e. about 10 or 12 years after the death of his father and brother. He was in the favour of Aurangzeb. The *Cimanī-carita* describes the love of Cimanī with the Brahmin¹ tutor Dayādeva Śarmā but we have no information in this romantic poem about the relation of Jāfar with Cimanī subsequent to her clandestine love with her tutor. The *Cimanī-Carita* reminds us of Tennyson's *Launcelot and Guenever*.

1. The *Cimanī-carita*, depicting the love of a Muslim girl for a Brahmin tutor, reminds us of (1) Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāya and his yavanī and (2) Lolimbarāja and his Ratnakalā. Jagannātha flourished in the middle of the 17th century while Lolimbarāja lived during the last quarter of the 16th century (Vide my paper on *Lolimbarāja and His Works—Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 327 ff.

SUBJECTS OF LAW AND LAW OF FAMILY ACCORDING TO THE YĀJÑAVALKYA-DHARMAŚĀSTRA¹

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1. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* (याज्ञवल्क्य-धर्मशास्त्र) also called *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* is next to the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* in importance, authority and origin. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* is undoubtedly based upon the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*.

Compared with the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* is later, more advanced and law as a whole is dealt with in much a shorter, clearer and more systematic way. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* is closely connected with the white *Yajurveda*.

It is not possible to establish exactly where and when the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* was written. Various scholars give different dates for the origin of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*. Some of them maintain that the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* was written in the third or fourth century B.C.; other scholars place the date of its origin at the sixth century A.D.

It must be pointed out that it is probable that the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* of to-day is not an uniform work, but that various portions of it have been added later, from time to time. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* contains many archaic rules which perhaps had the full force of law at the time of the origin of this work but had lost force when they came to be written down and existed by the side of quite modern rules in which we can perceive a considerable progress of the development of the law. It would also be difficult to suppose that one person could be the author of this *Dharmaśāstra* except perhaps the 2nd book where some system and continuity of the law-thoughts can be perceived. It is possible too that the 2nd book was written down later than the 1st and 3rd book in spite of the fact that we sometimes also meet in the second book with many archaic rules and subsequent interpolations. We can esteem that the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* was written down within the first six centuries. A.D.

1. Résumé of a large work left behind in Poland on account of war.

The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* contains three books;—The first deals with custom, the second with law and the third with penance.

The entire material of law that we find in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* divided according to the type of the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* into eighteen or twenty subjects, includes the following: Introduction, matrimonial law and personal relations between married people, civil procedure and law of things, law of obligation and mortgages, witnesses, law of inheritance, disputes regarding boundaries, disputes regarding the owner of cattle and his servants, sale without ownership, donations, loans, slaves, corporations, conditions of employment or service, law of gambling and betting, defamation and threats, protection of nature and animals, various transgressions, other conditions of loans and selling, terms of agreement of individuals in associations, robbery, murder, incendiarism, sexual offences and adultery, miscellanea, fraud, forgery, responsibility for animals, criticism of the king, improper appeals etc. The author (or the authors) of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* was a very good exponent and it is distinguished by a lucid and laconic style. He has excluded the needless padding of casuistry and has tried to avoid all the misunderstandings in interpretation and has shown an exact and systematic understanding of the conditions existing in Ancient India, in spite of the fact that this exactness and systematic treatment leaves much to be desired according to modern ideas. It must be pointed out as a high merit that the author of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* collected, with very small exceptions, only the entire material of law on one place, that is in the second book of this work.

No *Dharmaśāstra* has had so many commentaries, and by such eminent scholars, as the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*. The *Mitākṣarā* stands at the head of all commentaries and law-books relating to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*.

2. It has to be pointed out that the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*, like the other Ancient Indian *Dharmaśāstras*, CONTAINS many series of religious precepts, and when it contains legal injunctions there are so entwined with religious injunctions that generally it is very difficult or even often impossible to

separate the legal from the religious rules. The author undoubtedly intended to regulate the religious problems first and then other problems of law. With regard to the juridical problems the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* contains a collection of customs, i.e. of rules that were more or less in use, and the practice of which was connected with the *opinio necessitatis*. These rules existed with legislative sanction; the sanction was based neither upon civil law nor upon criminal law, but only upon religious rules,—but in the case, where law is most closely connected with rules of a religious nature, the religious sanctions must be considered as legislative orders. These rules were published. The legislator's will was announced by the *Yoga Yājñavalkya*. Thence the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* may be considered from the juridical point of view with regard to the rules regulating juridical problems—as a collection of orders with full legal authority.

According to the author's wish the prescriptions of this *Dharmaśāstra* ought to have the force of law everywhere i. e. throughout the entire known territory of India.

3. The sixth verse of the first book of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* contains THE DEFINITION OF 'LAW' Properly there is only a roll of events which are able to cause sequences and therefore can be considered as cases in law. Other circumstances too—although not contained in the definition of law—bring about law—consequences even according to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* mentions as Law-sources many *Dharmaśāstras* and explains in the seventh verse of the first book how an edict of the law arises. It can be seen that in this verse the author intended to show—from the point of view of the philosophy of law—the genetic development of the law. According to this verse each idea of the law springs from the manifestation, or Revelation, or judgment—*śruti* (श्रुति). The Vedas have the highest value in '*śruti*'. When the question is about a lawful rule '*śruti*' changes into tradition *smṛti* (स्मृति) which appears especially in the prescriptions of sacred law. Custom is higher than tradition, but this custom is understood as an event which has value from the point of view of non-sacred law. If the custom should change in a lawful rule it has to deal with good things; the law therefore has to

be *ius bonum*. That this is understood by *ius bonum* follows from the last portion of the verse seven of the first book of the *Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra in fine* : 'what something desires and which springs from a good resolution'. These words have to be understood to mean : 'That which an average educated man considers as right'. As such a man the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* most probably means an educated Brahmin. It seems to proceed from this verse that the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* recognises the nature law *lius (bonum)* which is closely connected with an individual comprehension. According to the view of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra-ius bonum* differs from the nature law by reason of the fact that the former can alter according to the epoch and on the opinion of those men who influenced the sources of customs. About the legislative authority the following sentence is found in the verse nine of the first book of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* : "Four persons—who know the Vedas and the *Dharma* or who know only the three sciences constitute a '*Parṣat*' or a *Traividyā* (a legal assembly)." That it says is *Dharma*, or that even one person who is best among the knowers of spiritual sciences, declares.

4. According to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* there are TWO KINDS OF PERSONS in the sense of private law i.e. natural persons and juristic persons. A man who possesses the power of acting in his own capacity in the sense of private law is considered to be a natural person. According to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* every man does possess this capacity for acting independently in the sense of private law. This capacity depends on the caste of the man, on his age, sex, conditions of dependence and other conditions. Corporations, unions, associations etc. i.e. a subject which possesses a similar power in acting in their own private capacity in the sense of private law but which are not living personalities are considered to be juristic persons.

5. Besides such persons possessing full rights under civil law which depend on the caste, the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* recognises other persons who have no rights in law. These are SLAVES. Such persons cannot be subjects of law of property. All that they possess and all that they have earned during their lifetime is considered mainly the property of that person whom they are subject.

6. We find in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* JURISTIC PERSONS of public-and civil-law. To the first category belong corporations founded by the king for religious purposes. These corporations possess their own property which does not belong to the members of the corporation. Each member of these corporations retains property previously possessed by him although he belongs to the corporation. These corporations possess their own power of administration and are to be represented by their administrative bodies. The corporation as a whole is protected by special law-rules. The second kind of corporations are professional unions which possess their own property and their own administration. The protection of the private interests of the members of these unions is the aim of these juristic persons.

7. According to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* the family-conditions have marked this characteristic feature that one person or a line of persons is subject in a certain sphere to another person.

According to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* the FAMILY POWER covers not only obligation but also subordination to which are subject not only the not minors but also these adult persons who with regard to their nature are not equal to such persons who possess the family power. Internal family relations have a great influence on the fortune of those persons who are subject to the family power. The Ancient Indian Law based upon the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* knows two kinds of family power. The paternal power which is connected with the guardianship and the marital power. These two powers are strongly connected with financial conditions; for this purpose the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* recognises separately the father's pecuniary circumstances and matrimonial pecuniary circumstances.

8. As the head of the family was THE FATHER as the family chief. The power over the children was gained or *ipso iure* or on basis of a legal act. The family chief gained his power over the children *ipso iure* through the birth, irrespective of the fact whether the children were born within the state of marriage or outside it. The Ancient Indian Law does not know the

right of the father of denying the conjugal (legitimate) birth of the child born by his wife. That is the principal mark of the Ancient Indian Law of Family. Dependent on circumstances under which a child was born, it was placed into the relative class i.e. to one of the classes to which the children and especially the sons could according to a schematic division be placed. This schematic division knows the group of (a) legitimate sons, (b) of sons born *per procura*, (c) of adopted sons, and (d) of sons born outside the marriage. Because, according to the Ancient Indian Law, the principle existed '*pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant*', it must be accepted that the family chief gained his power over the sons born outside the marriage—*ipso iure*. The single exception, (but which is an apparent exception only), include the children born by an unmarried girl *Kānina* (कानीन) because they do not fall under the power of their father but under the power of their grandfather on the side of their mother according to the principle, which can be used here by analogy, that the increase from the land belongs to the proprietor. Because the unmarried daughter is the property of the father, her son too, who has not a legitimate father—is his property. The father automatically obtained the power over such a child i.e. over his grand-child.

On basis of a legal act the power of the family chief is also established in two cases i.e. in the way of *niyoga* (नियोग-levirate) and in the way of adoption. Therefore, the sons who were born *per procura* or who belong to the adopted sons must be regarded as sons over whom the father gained his power by a legal act. In the first case this legal act will rest on the grant of a power of attorney to a woman to bear one son for the holder of the original right (i.e. for the family chief); in the second case this legal act will rest on the act of adoption. The power of the family chief extends not only to the sons but over the wife or wives as well. The number of wives was limited: and dependent on the caste of the family chief. The power of the family chief extended probably on ascendants and eventually more distant descendants and relatives. The power of the family chief was not illimitable. He had not the right of life and death over his 'subjects'; he had not the right to sell these 'subjects', even his sons and wives could have own

property themselves which they could also dispose of. The family chief exercised over his 'subjects' the power of guardianship. It was a *tutela legitima* which was connected with the financial rights of the 'subjects'.

9. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* does not refer to the institution of polyandry. Yet the institution of POLYGAMY was well known. The polygamy depended principally on the existence of caste.

The most important aim of the ancient Indian marriage was the procreation of sons.

10. We find in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* twelve KINDS OF SONS. These sons I divide into four groups :

(A) Legitimate sons: To this category belong the *Aurasa* (औरस) i. e. the legitimate son and the *Paunarbhava* (पौनर्भव) i. e. a son of a woman who is married for the second time.

(B) Sons born by *niyoga* (*per-procura*) i. e. sons born through a third person for the family-chief. To this category belong the *Kṣetrajā* (क्षेत्रज) the son of the mother and the *Putrikāputra* (पुत्रिकापुत्र) the son of the daughter.

(C) Adopted sons whose status was acquired by an act of adoption irrespective of the fact as to whether the agreement was made without payment (*dattaka* दत्तक), or with payment (*kṛita* क्रीत) and irrespective of the fact as to whether the son was adopted with his active consent (*svayam-datta* स्वयंदत्त) or without this consent (*apavidhha* अपविद्ध, *kṛtrima* कृत्रिम).

(D) Sons born out of the marriage irrespective of the fact as to whether they were born before the marriage of the mother (*kānina* कानीन) or after her marriage (*sahodha* सहोद), or were conceived before the marriage-ceremony of the mother and born after the marriage-ceremony (*gūdhaja* गूढज).

The sons born *per procura* and some adopted sons : could be by law sons of two fathers i. e. real (physiological) and the legal father (*Dvyāmuṣyayāṇa* द्वामुष्ययाण).

A son had in connection with his father duties of religious nature, as well as duties of civil-law nature. And as the father had the duty of taking care of his sons, so the son had the duty of taking care of his father in such cases in which he

might need this care. The same applies to the duty of the son as regards his mother.

Not much attention is devoted in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* to the daughters. According to the legal rules there was no difference between the daughters. The daughters like the sons were under the power of their father and were mainly considered as property of their father.

Besides the sons and daughters the wives were other members of the family over whom the *pater familias* extended his power.

11. We find in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* a spontaneous EMANCIPATION. The *patria potestas* over the son could be extinguished by spontaneous emancipation in case the son was of age (adult) or if the son married. The *patria potestas* was also automatically extinguished by the death of the father. The extinguishing of the *patria potestas* over the daughter followed from her marriage because in this case the girl passed into the power of her husband. *Sub patria potestate* the girl passed over '*sub manu mariti*'.

12. Although the son was *sub patria potestate* he had the right to have a certain private fortune which he might have acquired through his own exertion without having made use of the property of his father or which he had received as a gift. The dependence of THE FORTUNE OF THE SON continued chiefly till the moment of his emancipation. After that if the father has made a division of his estate among his sons during his life-time he freed them from his *patria potestas* and the sons gained through such a division their shares of the father's own property. The sons became in this way the owners of the property assigned to them by the father and also owners of any estate which they might have acquired subsequently by their individual efforts. If the son was capable of supporting himself, and if he had no desire to share in his father's estate, the father had the right to emancipate the son without making any division of his estate. In this case the father had the duty to give his son 'something'. This 'something' was the beginning of the son's private estate. In this case all that the son earned after his emancipation became his private estate which he had the right to dispose of as he pleased.

Those persons who had complete control of their own property could also lose this right. This took place if these persons re-united themselves. By this act of reunion the joint-family arose. The joint-family rests on the community of living together, of having meals together, of sharing religious observances, of sharing property together etc.

By the expression community of property must be understood the community of estate which became the property of every co-heir who gave his share to the joint-family. The estate became the exclusive property of all co-heirs who then had the right to utilise this estate in common.

This community of estate or fortune means that the different members of the reunited family should dwell in the same house, take their meals together and perform their divine service at the same time and enjoy their property in common.

The individual property became property of all the members of the community of fortune i.e. the property of the joint-family. All property subsequently acquired by the members of the joint-family became not property of these persons who had earned these incomes but the property of the joint-family as such. Therefore all individual expenses of the members of the joint-family became expenses of the whole joint-family.

13. It is probable that a woman could not have a PRIVATE FORTUNE till the time of her marriage. It must be admitted that a woman was always and exclusively *sub patria potestate* or *sub manu mariti* or under the guardianship of her sons. But it is certain that a woman could only have a private fortune for the first time after marriage. After her marriage a woman's property i.e. the '*Strīdhana*' (स्त्रीधन) came into existence.

14. THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE WOMAN is not sufficiently cleared up in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* and is not as a consequence shown in it. During the life of her husband she was under his power; although the mother was a dependent person her position was very high and especially as regards her children (if she has borne sons). Many legal acts could be concluded only with her consent; she, like the father should be esteemed and honoured. It was probably not necessary that the mother should automatically lose her position as regards

her children in the case of the death of her husband and especially when the children were not adults. But if the children were adults the mother automatically lost her power over them and she came under the power of her son. Yet the children were obliged to honour their mother and eventually to support her.

15. According to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* some persons who were generally free persons could come under the control of another person i.e. of the curator. Of such a nature was the case of falling under a TUTELA of a '*mente captus*' or the case of a cripple.

16. The marriage which was according to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* principally polygamic and exogamic had as its aim procreation of sons.

The persons in this list (which is given in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*) who have power over an unmarried girl had THE DUTY OF ARRANGING for her MARRIAGE.¹ In the event of their failure to do so the girl gets the right to get herself married on her own initiative.

17. The AGREEMENT OF THE BETROTHAL which was concluded between the father of the girl on the one side, and probably with the father of the boy on the other side was nothing more than a solemn promise to carry out the marriage at some time in the future, which promise was not unconditionally binding. There existed a possibility of breaking this agreement and the sequences of such a break were regulated by law. Only if the agreement of the betrothal was broken *ex iniusta causa* was there some compensation or penalty attached to it. Therefore the conclusion of this agreement did not bind both parties to the future marriage.

The father in particular was obliged at the time of the agreement to state any defects existing in his daughter because if he did not do so he was liable to pay a penalty which was equivalent to giving a reward to the discoverer of the defects. These defects could cause an '*error in qualitate in personam*'.

1. Father, grand-father, brother, sakulya and mother. In fault of these persons the king could have the power over the girl.

This 'error in qualitate in personam' could cause the breaking off of the agreement 'ex iusta causa'.

According to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* the agreement of the betrothal could be broken 'ex iusta causa' in this case too if the father found a 'better' suitor for his daughter. By a 'better suitor' was understood a boy having better qualities than the first suitor who might have faults or whose conduct might be considered as not being good.

The consequences of the breaking off of the agreement by the father or guardian *sine causa* or *ex iniusta causa* were that besides the penalty (which was the same as the penalty in the case of theft¹) another penalty was added i. e. the duty of compensation for the monetary loss and psychical damage or compensation for expenses incurred by the other party etc.

It must be admitted *per analogiam* that the duty to compensate for the damage to pay the 'penalty' etc. was not only imposed on the father or guardian of the girl who has broken the agreement (as it is stated in the *Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra* probably for the simplification) but on the suitor too who *sine causa* or *ex iniusta causa* has also broken the agreement.

If neither of the parties was culpable for not completing the marriage after the conclusion of the agreement of the betrothal the two parties concerned were obliged to return the gifts received in connection with the agreement.

18. It is difficult to speak about the true IMPEDIMENTA MATRIMONII according to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*. All legal rules which we find in this *Dharmaśāstra* only give counsels either for the bride or for the bridegroom, such as what kind of boys and what kind of girls should not be married. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* does not know sanctions in the sense of private law in the case of non-observance of the 'counsels'. But it ought to be admitted that in some cases sanctions do exist, but not in the sense of private law, but in the form of religious orders. Only these 'counsels' can only be considered as *impedimenta matrimonii*, because according to the Ancient Indian Law the rules in the sense of private law were closely connected with the rules in the

1. 'Mutilatio' joined with the duty to render the stolen objects.

form of religious orders. In this way we find in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* *impedimenta impedientiae* i.e. such *impedimenta* which does not cause the invalidity of the marriage, but which impose (on the persons who do not observe these *impedimenta*) the duty to give sacrifices, or penances etc. Following *impedimenta matrimonii* could be recognised as *impedimenta impedientiae*: *impedimentum consanguinitatis* (of consanguinity, of close blood relationship), *impedimentum castae* (of caste), *impedimentum prioritatis castae mulieris* (of the priority of the caste of the woman), *impedimentum impotentiae* (of impotence), *impedimentum aetatis* (of age), *impedimentum deficientis virginitatis* (of the defect of the virginity of the girl), *impedimentum prioritatis aetatis in familia* (of the priority of the age in the family).

It must be observed that some *impedimenta* could be considered as *impedimenta dirimentiae* but the existence of such an *impedimentum* could cause rather the dissolution of the marriage but not effect the invalidity of the marriage. Probably the dissolution took place on account of the following *impedimenta*: *impedimentum consanguinitatis*, *impedimentum impotentiae* and *impedimentum deficientis virginitatis*.

It is not possible to separate the *impedimenta matrimonii* into *impedimenta publica* and *impedimenta occulta* or into *impedimenta dispensabilia* and *impedimenta indispensabilia*. But it is possible to separate the *impedimenta* into *impedimenta relativa* and *impedimenta non relativa* and into *impedimenta minoris gradus* and *impedimenta maioris gradus*. This last division is especially noted in the *impedimentum consanguinitatis*.

As regards other 'counsels' it ought to be admitted that the non-observance of these 'counsels' has not caused any legal consequences. In this case the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* must be considered as a book of counsels for marriage; it is very pedantic and perhaps the most pedantic book of admonition on marriage of all the *Dharmaśāstras*. The counsels can be divided in counsels regarding the external faults of the parties and regarding other faults; this first mentioned kind of faults is more often mentioned.

To the *impedimenta relativa* belongs the *impedimentum consanguinitatis*, *impedimentum castae* and *impedimentum prioritatis aetatis in familia*.

To the *impedimenta non relativa* may belong the *impedimentum deficientis virginitatis* and the *impedimentum aetatis*. The *impedimentum impotentiae* is principally an *impedimentum non-relativum* but it ought to be admitted that the *impedimentum impotentiae* over a certain woman is an *impotentia* too, which causes an *impedimentum matrimonii*. For this reason the *impedimentum impotentiae* may be grouped with *impedimenta relativa* too.

Regarding the '*impedimentum consanguinitatis*' it ought to be stated that the parties could not both be '*sapiṇḍa*' (सपिण्ड) or '*asamānārṣa gotrajam*' (असमानार्ष गोत्रजम्). The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* recognises by the word '*sapiṇḍa*' or in the persons joined by the relationship called '*sapiṇḍa*' all these persons who are descended from one ancestor, irrespective of whether the relationship is direct or collateral. This was provided the relationship was upto the fourth degree (inclusive) or upto the sixth degree (inclusive) in the case of male ancestry. By the expression '*asamānārṣa gotraja*' is understood in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* such persons as are descended from a common *Ṛṣi* or are descended from the same *gotra*. In the first case this *impedimentum matrimonii* would be equal to the Roman *impedimentum consanguinitatis maioris gradus*, and in the second case to the Roman *impedimentum consanguinitatis* or better *affinitatis minoris gradus*.

The *impedimentum castae* ought to be divided into separate *impedimenta* i.e. (a) the *impedimentum prioritatis castae mulieris* of the order of the priority of the caste of the woman) and (b) the proper *impedimentum castae*. The *impedimentum prioritatis castae mulieris* rests on the inadmissibility of marriages between a man and a woman who belongs to a higher caste than the man. The proper *impedimentum castae* rests on the inadmissibility of marriages between a '*Dvija*' (i.e. a member of the *Brahma*, *Kṣatriya*, or *Vaiśya* castes) and a *Sūdrā*-woman.

The *impedimentum prioritatis aetatis in familia* rests on the interdiction of marriage of a younger brother before his older brother.

If a man was impotent and even though the impotence was regard to a certain woman the *impedimentum impotentiae*

was recognised. The impotence should have existed before the marriage and should be an *impotentia generandi*.

The *impedimentum aetatis* may be also divided into two kinds. It could be or an *impedimentum prioritatis aetatis* on the part of the bride or on the part of the bridegroom. In the first case this *impedimentum matrimonii* took place if the bride was older than the bridegroom, in the second case this *impedimentum matrimonii* took place if the bridegroom has not reached the minimum age necessary for the marriage which is laid down in the *Dharmaśāstras*.

The *impedimentum deficientis virginitatis* ought to be considered rather as a 'counsel' than as an *impedimentum matrimonii*. This *impedimentum matrimonii* rests on the principle that only a girl who has not previously belonged to another man could be married.

The *impedimentum exterioris et interioris defecti* (of physical and non-physical defects) should also be regarded as 'counsels' rather than prohibitions. It must be admitted that the reason for which we find in the rules of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* concerning this *impedimentum* are nothing more than the representation of an ideal woman and an ideal man for marriage.

19. According to events which are connected with the marriage and also according to the participation of the parents or guardians of the two parties at the marriage and regarding to some pecuniary regard at the marriage, the actual form in which the marriage took place depended. For that purpose the FORM OF MARRIAGE (*vivāha* विवाह) describes in what manner the marriage was concluded.

In Ancient India we find that all events in the life of human beings are clearly marked out and defined. To examine and define all matters gave intense delight to the writers of Ancient Indian scientific literature. For that reason we find in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* similarly to other *Dharmaśāstras* eight or nine forms of marriage. The difference between these forms of marriage is very slight and the marriage concluded by any of these forms of marriage produces nearly the same legal effects. But the division of the forms of marriage into

eight or nine was not essential according to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*, because as far as it concerns the legal effects of the marriage the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* distinguishes properly only two forms of marriage i.e. the orthodox forms of marriage and other forms of marriage.

From the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* the historical development of the forms of marriage is not clearly seen. If we refer to the historical sociological literature we find in the first line of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* the form of marriage by capture. It is the '*Rākṣasa-vivāha*' and the '*Paiśāca-vivāha*'. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* distinguishes in this case between marriages where the girl was captured against her will (I) by the use of force only, and (II) by the use of cunning. The first is the '*Rākṣasa-vivāha*' and the second is the '*Paiśāca-vivāha*'. The forms of marriage by purchase are represented in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* by the '*Āsura-vivāha*' and the form of marriage by sham purchase by the '*Ārṣa-vivāha*'. The '*Ārṣa-vivāha*' gives two criterions by which sham purchase can be distinguished. The first is when the price paid for the girl bears no relation to her value i.e. the price paid is only symbolical and is always the same, such as an ox and a cow, which have to be given to the father or to the guardian. The second reason is because the eventual price had to be repaid to the buyer i.e. to the suitor. Here the father or the guardian of the girl has to repay the price received as if he himself gave a dowry, but in reality this dowry was given for that purpose by the future husband (son-in-law) himself. Those forms of marriage which include (I) the choice of a husband for the girl by the father or by the guardian, and (II) the duty to give to the girl a dowry or endowment—are divided into three different forms of marriage. These depend on the circumstances as to who took the initiative to the marriage. The following forms of marriage belong to this group of the forms of marriage: the '*Brāhma-vivāha*', the '*Daiva-vivāha*' and the '*Kāya-vivāha*'. The '*Brāhma-vivāha*' was the highest form of marriage not only in this group of forms of marriage, but it was in general. The last group of forms of marriage is that in which there is free agreement between the girl and the man without the participation of the parents or guardians. This is represented in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* by the

Gāndharva-vivāha. The predecessor of this form of marriage can be recognised as the *Svayamvara* (self-choice).

The *Rākṣasa-vivāha* (राक्षसविवाह) depends on the forcible rape of a girl by a man who intends make her his wife. The rape is understood to have taken place against the will of the father, or of the guardian with whom the suitor had to fight. According to this form of marriage the marriage was carried out without the intervention of the father or of the suitor.

According to the *Paiśāca-vivāha* (पैशाचविवाह) the suitor profits by the unconscious state of the girl, has sexual intercourse with her principally against her will and afterwards captures her. The marriage concluded according to this form took place without the consent of the girl and of her father (guardian). Because this form of marriage is based on a crime—according to the point of view of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*—it was considered as a prohibited form of marriage.

The *Asura-vivāha* (असुरविवाह) depends on an agreement to purchase made between the suitor and the person who exercised the actual power over the girl. Therefore this form of marriage is similar to the Roman '*coemptio uxoris*'. The initiative for this form of marriage lay in the hands of the suitor and the girl had no right to choose her husband for herself. The choice did not depend on any good qualities of the suitor but primarily on his pecuniary position and on the price he was prepared to pay for the girl. This form of marriage was considered as an illegal form of marriage.

The *Ārṣa-vivāha* (आर्षविवाह) is based on this fact that the suitor gave to the person who exercises the power over the girl a gift, in order that this gift might be returned to the girl. In this form of marriage, therefore, a sham purchase took place. The gift consisted principally of a cow and an ox. In this form of marriage too the marriage depends not on the choice exercised by the girl but at the choice of the suitor and with the agreement for concluding the marriage which was given by the father or by the guardian. But in the first line the conclusion of the marriage according to this form of marriage depends on the choice by the suitor and afterwards on the consent given by the father or by the guardian. By this form of marriage an agree-

ment to purchase was not concluded, which act was — according to the view of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*—a profanation of persons, and so this form of marriage was accepted as one of the highest forms of marriage.

The *Brāhma-vivāha* (ब्राह्मविवाह), the *Daiva-vivāha* (दैव-विवाह) and the *Kāya-vivāha* (कायविवाह) were the orthodox forms of marriage along with the *Ārṣa-vivāha*. By these forms of marriage the choice of a suitor for a girl depended on that person in whose custody she lived; this person had the duty of endowing the girl. The difference between these three forms of marriage is very slight. In the *Brāhma-vivāha* the suitor ought to be a member of the Brahma-caste and ought to have the best qualities. The initiative for the marriage lay with the father and not with the suitor. On the contrary in the *Kāya-vivāha* the initiative for the marriage lay with the suitor but the conclusion of the marriage depended on the consent of the father or of the guardian of the girl. It was necessary to pronounce a special formula in which the parties were summoned to share in common joy and mourning as well as to execute religious duties. By the *Daiva-vivāha* the suitor ought to be a 'Rtvij' i.e. a sacrificer.

According to the *Gāndharva-vivāha* (गान्धर्वविवाह) the persons of different sexes who love one another make a joint union by their own choice. In other words this form of marriage depends on the understanding between a man and a woman who love one another. This form of marriage was effected without the agreement of the parents and could be carried out against the will of the parents. The marriage was concluded according to this form of marriage after the execution of a solemn wedding-ceremony.

The *Svayamvara* (स्वयंवर self-choice) depended on the right of the girl alone to choose a man for herself; the declaration of the will of the person who had custody of the girl was not necessary because she received the right of the self-choice as if a penalty, on account of the reason that the father or the guardian had not accomplished his duty i.e. to get her married after her puberty. The *Svayamvara* was, properly speaking, not a special form of marriage, and the permission given in some

cases to the girl to choose a husband for herself has probably declared only in what cases it was possible to marry legally according to the *Gāndharva-vivāha*.

20. THE WEDDING-CEREMONY is described in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* only occasionally and its nature depends on the caste of the parties concerned. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* does not state what legal consequences require the particular wedding-ceremonies.

21. It is very difficult to give on the basis of the rules found in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* as well as found in the all Ancient Indian *Dharmaśāstras* a good legal definition for the DISSOLUTION OF THE MARRIAGE. It could be admitted on basis of the rules which we find in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* that the dissolution of the Ancient Indian marriage could take place by the abandonment or expulsion of the wife. This would be equal to the Roman legal institution of the *repudiatio uxoris*. Such a *repudiatio uxoris* could take place without any special ceremony and there are no legal or religious influences in this matter.

But from some rules found in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* it appears that not in every case could the proper *repudiatio uxoris* take place, and on the contrary it must be admitted that in some cases the husband had the right to discard his former wife and as well as to marry another girl with the consequence that the first wife loses her privileged position after this act.

Regarding the *repudiatio uxoris*,—according to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*,—it ought to be mentioned that this *repudiatio* depends on the will of the husband only, because the wife could have no right regarding the dissolution of the marriage. Therefore it was a one-sided action which had two-sided consequences.

Although such a dissolution of the marriage was not made difficult it was not often used. The principal reason for this was the institution of polygamy. Because in this case the husband had the right to take another woman as his wife (if she has not pleased him more) than his first wife. This could be more advantageous to him because—according to the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*—he was obliged in the case of the *repudiatio*

uxoris to support his first wife and to give her a special share of his estate. Especially owing to the scale of the amount which had to be given to the woman (depending on the motive which had caused the dissolution of the marriage) it appears that the author of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* endeavoured to limit the cases which caused the dissolution of marriage and that he took the standpoint of the indivisibility of the marriage, so far as it was supported by tradition, customs etc.

We find in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* cases of the dissolution of the marriage *ex iustissima causa*, *ex iusta causa* and *sine causa*. The adultery of the wife was considered as a motive for the dissolution of the marriage *ex iustissima causa*. The *iustae causae* which caused the dissolution of marriage *ex iusta causa* can be divided into (I) motives independent on the will of the wife, and (II) motives dependent on will of the wife. To the first group of motives belong: (1) Sterility, (2) Bearing of daughters only and (3) Illness. To the second group of motives belong: (1) Drinking of liquor, (2) Sly character, (3) Prodigality, (4) Harsh manner of speech, and (5) Misogamy. The dissolution of the marriage *sine causa* occurred in these cases when the woman did not possess those attributes which cause the dissolution of marriage, or rather in these cases when the marriage was dissolved by the husband neither *ex iusta causa* nor *ex iustissima causa*.

The consequences following the dissolution of the marriage depended on, whether the dissolution of the marriage took place *ex iustissima causa*, or *ex iusta causa*, or *sine causa*. If the dissolution of the marriage took place (I) *ex iustissima causa* the woman had to receive the most essential necessities of life only, if (II) *ex iusta causa*—common necessities of life, if (III) *sine causa* the husband was obliged to give his former wife a third part of his estate, and if he had no estate he was obliged to provide for her in a suitable manner.

If the husband had married another woman in addition to his first wife he was obliged to give the 'abandoned wife' as much as he spent on the new marriage, even if the dissolution of the first marriage did not take place.

The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*, opposed to the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, *Nārada-Smṛiti* and *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, lay

down that the woman has the same right as the man to demand a dissolution of the marriage in the case of the common antipathy of the husband and wife and she has still less right in other cases.

22. As regards the RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HUSBAND AND THE WIFE there are two special matters i.e. (I) the cases dealing with the duties of a husband and wife towards one another, and (II) the cases dealing with the common relations of husband and wife towards one another.

The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* regulates this problem from the point of view of the husband. For that reason we find in this *Dharmaśāstra* the chief place is given to the problem of the duties of the wife to the husband and the problem of the relations of the wife with regard to the husband.

The husband was the lord of the wife ; he had the right to abandon her *sine causa* too. We do not find in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* this principle which can be found in the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* and *Bṛhaspati-Smṛti* i.e. that the wife is the half of her husband, and as a result of this dictum she possessed the same rights as her husband. The *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* does not describe the rights of the wife, but on the contrary almost exclusively her duties. The first duty i.e. the duty to be chaste, had probably no equivalent laid down among the duties of the husband. This duty was so strict that during the absence of the husband the wife was not permitted not only to amuse herself, to dress herself, but she was prohibited even from laughing, from going to foreign houses and from joining gatherings of other people. She was even prohibited after the death of her husband to marry again, and on the contrary in the case of the husband he was advised after the death of his wife, to marry a second wife. With the duty to be faithful to the husband was joined in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* the problem of the deplorable position of the widows. The legal position of the widows in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* was more satisfactory than was the case in the *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* (XX-39, XXV-14) or in the *Bṛhaspati-Smṛti* (XXIV-11), or in any other later sources.

The duties of the wife towards the husband could be classified into the following groups : (I) The duty of being faithful

to the husband, (II) The duty of obedience, (III) The duty of housekeeping, (IV) The duty of esteeming the husband and his kinsmen, (V) The duty of being of good conduct and of making the life of her husband pleasant.

Besides these duties the wife had other duties (and rights) of a religious nature, especially the duty of performing religious ceremonies.

In the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* we do not find similar rules about the duties of the husband to the wife. The existence of such duties could be seen only from the rules which we find under the rules which deal with dissolution of marriage. On dissolution of marriage the wife lost these privileges to which she had the right during the time of her marriage; these rights or these duties of the husband to the wife could be classified into following three groups i.e. (I) The duty of protection, (II) The duty of support, and (III) sometimes the duty to be faithful to the wife, but this last duty was not generally obligatory.

23. As regards the interpretation of the PERSONAL POSSESSION OF THE HUSBAND AND WIFE it is necessary to distinguish whether the estate belonged to a joint-family or not. The main principle was that a community of wealth did not exist.

If the family was joint and there was no partition of the estate, there arose a matrimonial community of personal estate.

If the family was not joint the matrimonial estate was — as a rule — separated. At this time the wife had the right to her own personal estate (*Strīdhana* स्त्रीधन) she has the right to administer it. This '*Strīdhana*' automatically fell after her death not to her husband, but to her own progeny, and in the case of lack of descendents (in some cases only) to her husband.

The '*Strīdhana*' was made up of what the girl has received as original matrimonial gifts, and what she received subsequent to her marriage from a line of persons shown in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*, or from her husband (for instance, as compensation for his abandoning her, or the "*repudiatio uxoris*"). This '*Strīdhana*' could include the estate obtained by inheritance, the '*Śulka*' (शुल्क) etc. The '*Strīdhana*' found in the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* represents the highest stage of development because on the one side it could consist in the greatest

number of objects and on the other side the husband had no right (subject to exceptional cases) to use the '*Strīdhana*' or to administer it, because the wife had an unlimited and a limitless right i. e. the right of property. This '*Strīdhana*' was protected by the law, it could not be acquired by long possession.

The wife was not obliged to use her private estate for her living expenses and she was not obliged to contribute towards the living expenses of her husband or of her children. How widely the exclusive right of property of the wife was extended, is best seen from the sentence which we find in the *śloka* 147 of the second book of the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra*. According to this *śloka* (I) the husband had—as a rule—no right to the use of the '*Strīdhana*'. (II) that if he has used the '*Strīdhana*' against these orders he was obliged to repay or to restore it. (III) that there existed some exceptions to the rule mentioned sub (II).

Such an exception occurred in the case of force majeure etc. or if the husband did not possess his own private estate which was sufficient to meet the extraordinary circumstances. The exceptional cases include the following: (I) For the providing in the case of famine, (II) for the execution of religious acts, (III) for the supply of expenses in the case of an illness, (IV) for his own maintenance during his stay in a jail, (V) for the maintenance of the family.

The debts have to be repaid only by the party who has incurred the debts. Only if the debts were incurred by the husband and wife together was the duty of repaying it a joint one. For this reason the husband had no such obligation to repay in the case of debts of his wife, and vice versa, provided that the debts (I) were not incurred together, (II) were not incurred for the whole family or on behalf of the whole family.

By introducing the division of personal estate of the husband and wife as a principle of law, the *Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra* is the precursor of a number of later law-codices including many contemporary law-codices.

A FEW WORKS ENTITLED TARKABHĀṢĀ

(E. P. Radhakrishnan, Madras)

The interpretation of the title TARKABHĀṢĀ demands a correct understanding of its constituent members, tarka and bhāṣā. Tarka in a wide sense means logic and bhāṣā means language so that Tarkabhāṣā indicates the language of logic, meaning thereby the technicalities of the logical language. In a secondary sense the word Tarkabhāṣā is used to denote the work dealing with such logical technicalities :

1. तर्काः षोडश पदार्था भाष्यन्ते अनया इति तर्कभाषा ।
(Govardhana's Com. on the Tarkabhāṣā)
2. तर्कः तर्कशास्त्रं ; तर्कशास्त्रे प्रमाणादयः पदार्थाः ईदृग्-
लक्षणा इत्यन्त एव इति तेषां स्वरूपकथनं भाषा ।
(Cennu Bhaṭṭa's Com. on the TB.)
3. तर्कभाषा तर्कस्य भाषा । व्याप्यारोपेण व्यापकारोप-
स्तकः, तस्य भाषा स्वरूपकथनमित्यर्थः ।

(Gaṇeśa Dīkṣita's Com. on the TB.)

In the following I propose to consider the available works with the title TARKABHĀṢĀ and note down some relevant details.

Tarkabhāṣā by Keśava Miśra

First and foremost comes the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Keśava Miśra. This is a well-known book by a Hindu author, Keśava Miśra, a native of Mithila. He was the preceptor of Govardhana Miśra, who commented on his teacher's *Tarkabhāṣā*.

विजयश्रीतनूजन्मा गोवर्धन इति श्रुतः ।

तर्कानुभाषां तनुते विचिन्त्य गुरुनिर्मिताम् ॥

Padmanābha Miśra, author of the *Kiraṇāvalī-bhāskara* and the *Kāṇādarahasyamuktāhāra* was an elder brother of this Govardhana. He was the elder brother of Keśava also and is said to have been younger than Vardhamāna, whom he mentions in his *Kiraṇāvalībhāskara* :

उपदिष्टा गुरुचरणैः अस्पृष्टा नेमनावधं ।

किरणावल्यामर्थाः तन्यन्ते पद्मनाभेन ।

Cennu Bhaṭṭa (Cinnam bhaṭṭa) wrote a commentary on the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Keśava Miśra. He was the son of Sahaja Sarvajña Viṣṇu Bhaṭṭopādhyāya, and was patronised by King Harihara II of Vizianagar, in the latter part of the 14th century of the Christian era (See p. 26 or R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on Mss. 1882-83). King Harihara II lived in the latter part of the 14th century so that we can suppose Keśava to have flourished a century earlier, i. e. in the latter part of the 13th century, about 1275 A.D. For other details regarding the date of the author as also for an analysis of the contents of the work, the reader may consult the History of Indian Logic by Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Pp. 381-85.

Tarkabhāṣā by Yaśovijaya Gaṇi

Yaśovijaya Gaṇi, in whose honour and name goes the Yaśovijaya Granthamālā, was a great Jain scholar and reformer who lived in the middle of the 17th century A.D. He wrote a good number of books on Jain philosophy and religion among which is one *Jaina Tarkaparibhāṣā* or *Tarkabhāṣa*, in about 800 granthas. It deals with the categories as accepted by the Jains. It is on the model of the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Keśava Miśra. The work begins :

ऐन्द्रवृन्दनत् नत्वा जिनं तत्त्वार्थदेशिकम् ।

ग्रमाणयनिक्षेपैस्तर्कभाषां तनोम्यहम् ॥

It is printed and published by the Jaina Dharma Prakāśaka Sabhā. In the praśasti to this work we find mention of his laurels; that he was honoured with the title *Nyāyaviśārada* at Benares and with *Nyāyācārya*, which he got after composing about one hundred works.

पूर्वं न्यायविशारदत्वविरुद्धं काश्यां प्रदत्तं बुधैः

न्यायाचार्यपदं ततः कृतशतग्रन्थस्य यस्यार्पितम् ।

His date is given as 1608-1688 A.D. by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his History of Indian Logic; but M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, would place him between 1622-88. For fuller details regarding the author, the reader is directed to go through the lengthy introduction in Sanskrit by H. R. Kapadia in his edition of the *Stuticaturvimsatīka* of Śobhana Sūri with four commentaries in the Series.

Tarkabhāṣā by Mokṣākara Gupta

Next we come to the little known *Tarkabhāṣā* by one Mokṣākara Gupta. This represents a work on the categories accepted by the Buddhists. Two manuscripts of this work are noticed in the Catalogue of Manuscripts in Pattan I. pp. 55, 192 by L. B. Gandhi as belonging to the Sanghāvī Pāḍā in Paṭṭan. A third manuscript of this in Tibetan is found in the Stanhgyur Mdo (See JBORS. XXII, i, App E. p. xiii). This work is being published in the Gaekwad's Series. It consists of three chapters in about 840 granthas dealing with perception and two kinds of inference, svārtha and parārtha. One Alaṅkāra and Nyāyavādi are found among the authorities cited.

The 'Alaṅkāra' is Prajñākara Gupta, a Professor at Nālanda, who wrote a voluminous commentary called Vārtikā-
laṅkāra or called simply Alaṅkāra, in about 17,000 granthas in prose and verse on chapters II, III, and IV of Dharmakīrti's great work, *Pramāṇavārtika*, which itself is a vārtika on Dinnāga's *Pramāṇa-Samuccaya*. 'There is no doubt' says Prof. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in a letter to the Catalogus Catalogorum office 'that Alaṅkāra is Prajñākara Gupta, who is also known as Alaṅkāra Paṇḍita in Tibet'. Prajñākara Gupta lived in the 8th century A. D.

S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, History of Indian Logic, p. 346 says that Mokṣākara Gupta lived about 1100 A.D. In Rāhula's appendix to his edition of the *Vādanyāya* in the JBORS, 1936, Vol. XXII, i, App. E. p. xiii, 1208 A. D. is the date given to Mokṣākara Gupta. Mokṣākara Gupta was a high-priest of the great monastery of Jagaddala,¹ at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā, perhaps near Bogra in North Bengal. He flourished early in the 12th century after the end of the rule of the Pāla Kings. The work begins :

[गुरुं लोकेश्वरं नत्वा बालानां धर्मकीर्तिना । (?)

शीलनायाल्पचित्तानां] तर्कभाषा प्रकाश्यते ॥

इह प्रेक्षा [परायणार्थिभिः सर्वैः सर्वपुरुषार्थसिद्धिनिमित्तं प्रमाणमनुसरद्भिः
आदौ प्रमाणं निर्णेतव्यम् ।] प्रमाणं सम्यग्ज्ञानमपूर्वगोचरम् । प्र [मिते तेनार्थे

1. This is evident from the colophon t. his *Tarkabhāṣā* :—
इति श्रीमद्राजजगद्गलविहारीय-महायतिमिधु-मोक्षाकरगुप्त-
विरचितायां तर्कभाषायां परार्थानुमानपरिच्छेदस्समाप्तः ।

प्रामाण्ये सति तद्धि सम्यग्ज्ञानमस्ति, संशयविपर्ययदोषरहितत्वात् । अविस्]
 वादकं ज्ञानं लोके सम्यग्ज्ञान- [मुच्यते । संशयविपर्ययज्ञानस्य त्वविसंवादित्वं
 नास्ति । यथा शुष्कमिन्धनं न वेति] ज्ञानस्य मरीचिकायां उदका [कारज्ञानस्य च ।
 तद्गोचरापूर्वत्वात् अपूर्वगोचरम् । गोच [रे तु] तत्स्थाने घटादौ सति तदुत्पन्नं
 तदर्थ- [प्रापणयोग्यं ज्ञानं प्रमाणम् । ननु ज्ञानं कर्तुं पुरुषं प्रयोज्यमर्थं कर्मभूतं यदि
 कदाचिन्न प्राप [यति, तत्प्रापयितृत्वाभावात् कथं प्रमाणमिति चेत् । etc.

It ends :

साकारतायां ज्ञानस्यापि मूर्तत्वात् अयमेव हि देशचित्तानामाकारो मूर्तिरिति
 श्रीमद्वाज्रगद्विहारीयमहायतिभिश्चुसोक्षाकरगुप्तविरचितायां तर्कभाषायां परार्था-
 नुमानपरिच्छेदः समाप्तः ।

तर्कभाषामिमां कृत्वा पुण्यमासादि यन्मया ।

तेन पुण्येन लोकोऽयं बुद्धत्वमधिगच्छतु ॥

Of the two manuscripts of the *Tarkabhāṣā* mentioned by L. B. Gandhi in his Catalogue, that on p. 192 has lost 3 leaves in the beginning and the other on p. 55 is found to begin with only 'Tarkabhāṣā Prakāśyate'. The original of which this manuscript is a copy, is found to contain the portions included in the brackets as filled up by a later hand. As such the portions in the brackets cannot be taken as the genuine writings of the author of the *Tarkabhāṣā* unless we suppose that these have been filled up after comparison with another manuscript which contained these portions also. This is quite reasonable too ; for we have no reason to think the insertions as spurious and not contained in a manuscript.

The mention of Dharmakīrti¹ in the first verse is in such a way that it is beyond all doubts that this *Tarkabhāṣā* was written to serve as an introduction to understand Dharmakīrti's *Vārtikālaṅkāra* with all its logical technicalities. Incidentally it may also be mentioned that from the beginning verse one Lokēśvara can be made out as the preceptor of Mokṣākara Gupta.

The late C. D. Dalal in his introduction to the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in Paṭṭaṇ says about this *Tarkabhāṣā* thus :

'The work is divided into three chapters treating of perception and two kinds of inference. This is most probably the same as the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Jñānaśrī of the Vikramaśīla University

1. The reading 'Dharmakīrtinā' as in the Text seems to be wrong. It would be better to read it 'Dharmakīrtinaḥ'.

(about 983 A. D.) which was known to us through its Tibetan translation.' How Mr. Dalal ventures to identify Mokṣākara Gupta's work with Jñānaśrī's *Tarkabhāṣā* is questionable. Jñānaśrī flourished about 983 A.D. and Mokṣākara Gupta, as shown above lived about 1208 A.D. The long gulf between these two dates stands in the way of identifying these two authors, so that we have to suppose the works of Jñānaśrī and Mokṣākara Gupta as two different ones.

Tarakabhāṣā by Jñānaśrī

The remark by Mr. Dalal under the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Mokṣākara Gupta leads us to the knowledge of a new work by name *Tarkabhāṣā* by Jñānaśrī. For the details regarding the date of Jñānaśrī and his works, the reader may consult my paper on Jñānaśrī and his works in the K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his History of Indian Logic informs us of two Jñānaśrīs, one an eminent Buddhist logician who acted as the gate keeping scholar at the second central gate of the Vikramaśīla University during the reign of Canaka (855-983 A.D.)¹ and who was known as Jñānaśrī Mitra, 1040 A.D. (See p. 342), and who wrote the *Kāryakāraṇa-bhāvasiddhi* and another Jñānaśrī Bhadra (1050 A.D.) (See p. 342 of History of Indian Logic) who was born in a Brahmin family at Kashmir and became afterwards converted to Buddhism and who is the author of the *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*.

Probably these two are one and the same person as identified by G. K. Nariman in his paper on 'References to Buddhist authors in the Jaina Literature' (Ind. Ant. XLII, p. 241) where he refers to a paper by Prof. Mironov on "Devabhadra and his *Nyāyavatāraṭippaṇa*" published in the Bulletin of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1911 April 15 and says that Devabhadra refers to Jñānaśrī as follows :

ननु चार्थक्रियासामर्थ्यमेव सत्त्वं नान्यत् । तथा च ज्ञानश्रीः । यदि नाम प्रतिदर्शनं सत्त्वमेदः,² तथापीह अर्थक्रियासामर्थ्यमेव सत्त्वमभिप्रेतम् ।

1. See p. 520 of History of Ind. Logic, By S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

2. The reading as found in the Ind. Ant. is cārthakriyā sāmānyā-eva; but it is correct to take arthakriyāsāmānyā as one word. See also Vidyābhūṣaṇa, p. 211. fn. 3 where the reading is arthakriyāsāmānyam eva.

3. The reading in Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Logic, *Sattvabheda*, is correct and not *satyabheda* as given in the Ind. Antiquary.

Nariman proceeds to say that "Jñānaśrī lived at the close of the 10th Century A.D. as shown by Vidyābhūṣaṇa and composed three works; *Pramāṇavinīścayaṭīka*, *Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi* and the *Tarkabhāṣā*."

The former portion of this remark seems acceptable. But the ascription of *Tarkabhāṣā* to Jñānaśrī is not found in Vidyābhūṣaṇa's work, nor do we know for certain that Jñānaśrī wrote such a work. It is likely that this is a confusion resulting out of mistaking the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Mokṣākara Gupta for the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Jñānaśrī.

Another factor which I want to stress before concluding this paper is this. There is a manuscript in the Tanjore Library, New Des. Cat. No. 8657, which is a commentary of the *Mahābhārata*. The author is given as one Yajñanārāyaṇa, but in the beginning of this, as has been shown¹ by Dr. V. Raghavan, a portion of Ānandapūrṇa's commentary on the *Mahābhārata* is written. On the strength of pure conjecture, a verse found in the introduction,

येनाखण्डि कुतर्कपद्धतिरहो श्रीतर्कभाषासिना
येनाकारि विलोच्च युक्तिबहुलं टीकाद्वयीदर्पणम् ।
यस्य प्राङ्गणरङ्गरञ्जिततले शास्त्राणि नृत्यन्त्यलं
सोऽहं भारतसागरार्थनिचयं लोकस्य वक्तुं यते ॥

which furnishes us with some personal notes of Ānandapūrṇa, is interpreted by Dr. V. Raghavan as follows :

"In the first two lines, here, Ānandapūrṇa mentions a work of dialectic and two commentaries on a single treatise called *Darpaṇa*. While we are not able to say anything definitely about the work mentioned in the first line, we can say that the two glosses on a *Darpaṇa* mentioned in the second line are additions to our knowledge of the writer's works."

Obviously the writer thinks that Ānandapūrṇa wrote two commentaries on an unknown work, *Darpaṇa*, and probably another dialectic work, perhaps *Tarkabhāṣā* by name, to state which, he seems to hesitate.

I have to point out clearly in this context that the dialectical work referred to in the above verse is in every probability the

1. In his paper on the Commentators on the *Mahābhārata*, Kane Com. Volume.

same as the *Nyāyacandrikā* (Madras Ms. R. 2931) by Ānandapūrṇa. This is a treatise in 4 paricchedas written from an advaitic standpoint and criticises the tenets of Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā. It is written in very terse language full of the technicalities of logic and hence fully deserves to be called as a sword of the technicalities of logic with which he cut asunder the line of false logic (येनाखण्डिः कुतर्कपद्धतिरहो श्रीतर्कभाषासिना). Thus it is clear, I think that the *Tarkabhāṣā* here does not signify a work of that name but serves only as an epithet of the *Nyāyacandrikā*.

Again the two commentaries mentioned as having been written by Ānandapūrṇa, on a *Darpaṇa* is also questionable. First of all this inference seems to be the result of a wrong reading of the second line :

येनाकारि विलोड्य युक्तिबहुलं टीकाद्वयीदर्पणम् ।

The text of the manuscript reads 'Tīkādvayīdarpaṇam' and there seems to be no necessity to split it into two words, *tīkādvayī* and *darpaṇe* and make the above inference. The line quoted above means only that Ānandapūrṇa wrote two commentaries which served like mirrors. The originals or original on which he commented remain to be settled.

I have elsewhere drawn the attention of scholars to the fact that Ānandapūrṇa wrote two commentaries on the *Tīkā-prasthāna*, one directly on the *Tīkā* or the *Pañcapādikā* and the other on the *Vivarāṇa* of Prakāśātman. I have also shown there with evidence from the text itself that it is wrong to identify these two commentaries as one and the same, viz., the commentary of the *Vivarāṇa* as has been wrongly done by some scholars. (See my paper on the *Pañcapādikā* Literature published in the Poona Orientalist.)

Thus, I think, it will be proper to understand the 'Tīkādvayīdarpaṇa' in the context to mean the two commentaries written by Ānandapūrṇa, one on the *Pañcapādikā* and the other on the *Vivarāṇa*, instead of splitting it as *Tīkādvayī Darpaṇe*, for which there is no adequate reason. Thus it is quite clear that the verse under reference does not give us any additional information regarding the other works of Ānandapūrṇa.

AUTHOR OF THE KALYĀNAPURĀṆJANA NĀṬAKA

(K. Madhava Krishna Sarma)

In his History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 697, Dr. M. Krishnamachariar mentions a Nāṭaka called Kalyāṇapurāṇ-jana as the work of Tirumalācārya and in a footnote adds : " He was of Śaṭhamarṣaṇagotra¹ of Polepalli family and in the court of Polabhūpāla of Gadval in Nizam's dominions in 17th century."

I have lately come across a MS of this work. From the conversation of the Sūtradhāra and Naṭi in the introductory part, which is extracted below, it is clear that the author of the drama is Śaṭhamarṣaṇa Bucci Veṅkaṭārya. It is also clear from the same context that he flourished in the court of one Soma, son of Tirmala (Tirumala) rāya. There is no mention here of the Polabhūpāla of Gadval. I leave the identification of the Soma mentioned here to historians of South India. The Sūtradhāra-Naṭisaṃvāda in the drama runs as follows:—

सूत्रधारः (स्मृतिममिनीय) — सारिष रूपके निरूपितमेवेदं पुरञ्जनचरितं
विशदं विदुषां वतसेन । किं न श्रुतं भवता वसन्ति कतिचन दक्षिणापथे श्रीवैष्ण-
वास्तैत्तिरीयाः पङ्क्तिपावनाः । तेषां च मध्ये कश्चिदस्ति शठमर्षणान्ववायमणिश्च-
तुस्तन्त्रीसारपारावारपारदृश्वा साहिलीसारसागरोन्मन्थनधनायितसुधायितकविता-
चतारः श्रीवेङ्कटार्यो नाम कविः ।

आसीद्यस्य पितामहः श्रुतिशिरोयुग्मस्य लग्नो मणि—

स्तातार्योऽस्य पिताऽऽपि चाण्णयसुधिरुत्तंसनं यज्वनाम् ।

नानातन्त्रविशङ्कटैकमतिमान् श्रीवेङ्कटार्योऽग्रजोऽ-

स्येतेषां तु तदेव नास्त्यविदितं यच्चास्ति शास्त्राम्बुधौ ॥

नटी—अय्यउत्त सुदपुळ्वो खु एसो अच्चरिअ सच्चमासो धुच्चिवेङ्कटजो गाम

कई ।

खळन्तभन्धणाअळाकुळन्त...

गळन्त भङ्गमाळिअ मिळन्तदन्तुशकिई ॥

दळन्तवारिआळि आवळन्तमयिआ इदा ।

कइत्तणस्सरीइमस्स कस्म हो इणो सुए ॥

1. Diacritical marks are reproduced here as used by Dr. Krishnamachariar.

आर्यपुत्र श्रुतपूर्वः खलु.....सत्यभायः बुच्चिवेङ्कटार्यो नाम कविः ।
 स्वलन्मन्थनाचलाकुलान्तरालसागरो-
 द्रलङ्गमालिकामिलदन्तुराकृतिः ।
 दलद्वारिजालिका वलमानमाधिकायिता ।
 कवित्वश्रीरस्य कस्य भवति नो मुदे ॥

सूत्रधारः—सत्यं तस्य तादृश्येव कविताधारा ।
 श्रीमत्तिर्मलरायगर्भजनुपस्तोमक्षमाभृन्मणे—
 रास्थानीं समुपेत्य राजति कविः सद्यः स विद्यानिधिः ।
 तन्निस्तन्निद्रतकीर्तिचन्द्रततिभिर्जिह्वासुधांशूपले
 प्रोन्मीलत्कवितासुधारसञ्जरीमुत्पादयन्नुज्वलाम् ॥

THE WORD "SARASWATĪ" IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

(M. P. L. Sastry)

The word Saraswatī in sanskrit has the following meanings :

(1) Goddess of learning (represented) as the wife of Brahman

(2) Speech

(3) Name of a river, or a river in general

(4) Cow

(5) An excellent woman

(6) Name of Durgā

(7) Name of a female divinity peculiar to the Buddhists

(8) Soma plant or the plant called Jyōtiṣmatī.

The word is used as the name of a river and goddess of learning from time immemorial. In some places it is used as the wife of Brahman. An attempt is made in this paper to trace the history of the word and to show that the idea—Saraswatī is the wife of Brahman—is of post-vedic origin.

In the Ṛgveda the word has a two-fold meaning. Sāyana-cārya, the famous vedic scholar commenting on the hymn I. 3. 12. says—

द्विविधा हि सरस्वती विग्रहवदेवता नदीरूपा च ।

Yāska has proclaimed in his Nirukta—

तत्र सरस्वतीत्येतस्य नदीवदेवतावच्च निगमा भवन्ति ।

(Nir. 2. 23)

Many a time the word is used in the vedic literature in the sense of a frontier river which is now lost in the sands of great deserts. This river Saraswatī played a prominent part in the daily life of the Āryans during the early days of their settlements in India. It was considered to be one of the greatest rivers. It was helpful to the daily life and prosperity of the Āryans. It was considered to be all holy. On account of the mighty nature of the stream the vedic poets were inspired to sing its greatness. Saraswatī was the only river which flowed with pure waters from the mountains to the sea.

एकाचेतत् सरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिभ्यः आ समुद्रात् ।

(R. 7. 95. 2)

The waters of this river were used for various vedic rites (10. 75. 5 & 6, I. 32. 12; 4. 28. 1.). The vedic sages performed their sacrifices on the banks of this holy river.

ऋषयो वै सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत । (Āitereya Brāhmaṇa 2. 19)

Saraswatī is also identified with speech. She is spoken of as the goddess of eloquence and wisdom. She is considered to be the sanctifying goddess, mighty, always requested by the sages to attend their sacrifices.

पावका नः सरस्वती वाजेभिर्वाजिनीवती । यज्ञां वष्टु धियावसुः ।

(R. I. 3. 10)

She is further expected to pour sweetness in the tongue, animate good thoughts, remember the intelligent and encourage the truthful men.

चोदयित्री सूरुतानां सुमतीनां चेतन्ती । (R. I. 3. 11)

To the vedic Aryans Saraswatī is nothing more than a river goddess first. Later, they seem to have identified the word with Vac and then personified as the goddess of wisdom or learning. In three entire hymns she is lauded and in numerous detached verses she is referred to in the Rgveda. The identification of goddess Saraswatī with the river seems to have always presented to the minds of the vedic poets.

In the post-Rgvedic period the word is used to indicate the female divinity to be worshipped in the evenings. The poets responsible for the Atharvaveda hymns attributed a different quality altogether to Saraswatī. She was requested to remove the poisonous effects of the snake bite etc. in the Atharvaveda (7. 11. 2.).

The two-fold sense the word indicated is continued in the early classical Sanskrit literature. In the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa the word is used, both as a name of a river and speech. Vālmiki pronounced a curse upon the fowler. He became much worried on that account since that would prove an inauspicious beginning for the great Rāma story he had to write. When the poet was thus afflicted, Brahman arrived and asked him not to worry and continue the story. He said,

मच्छंदादेव ते ब्रह्मन् प्रवृत्तेयं सरस्वती ।

The word Saraswatī is used here in the sense of speech. Later in the Ayodhyā and the Kṣkindhākāṇḍas it is used as a river of that name.

सरस्वतीं च सिंधूं च शोणं मणिनिभोदकम् । Kiṣkindhā 40-21
सरस्वतीं च गंगां च युग्मेन प्रत्यपद्यत । Ayodhyā 71-5

The word continues to have maintained this two-fold sense even in the time of Kālidāsa. He has used the word in the sense of speech on more than one occasion.

आत्तशस्त्र स्तदध्यास्य प्रस्थितस्स रघूद्वहः ।

उच्चचार पुरस्तस्य गूढरूपा सरस्वती॥ Raghuvamsa. 15. 46.

इति देहविमुक्तये स्थितां रतिमाकाशभवा सरस्वती ।

शफरीं हृदशोपविह्नुवां प्रथमावृष्टिरिवान्वकंपयत् । Kumāra. 4. 39.

In both the places it is the अशरीरा वाक् that is referred to. Oftentimes Saraswatī is personified as the goddess of learning in the classical literature, an idea which was prevalent in the vedic times.

Perhaps it is during the Puranic period the scholars thought of speaking about the origin and the history of Saraswatī. In the Purāṇas, she is described as a lady of white complexion having a Viṇā in one hand and a book in the other. She is the presiding diety of all talk. She is the favourite diety of the poets and she is supposed to be a very peaceful goddess. The Padmapurāṇa speaks of Saraswatī as the daughter of Brahman, being the first born of his face. The Vajrakhaṇḍa chapter of the Brahma Vaivaswatapurāṇa gives the following history :

आविर्बभूव तत्पश्चात् सुखतः परमात्मनः ।

एषा देवी शुक्लवर्णा वीणापुस्तकधारिणी ॥

वागधिष्ठान् देवी सा कवीनामिष्टदेवता ।

शुद्धसरस्वरूपा च शान्तरूपा सरस्वती ॥

In another place in the same Vaivaswata, Saraswatī is said to have emanated first from the throat of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Strangely enough, she is described as the wife of Viṣṇu in Naiṣadhakāvya by the famous poet Śrīharṣa of the 12th century.

The Padmapurāṇa narrates the story of the marriage of Brahman with Saraswatī attributing it to the bewitching beauty

of the latter. This idea doesn't seem to have become popular until very late, though Bhojadeva, the author of the *Campurāmāyana*, suggests that Saraswatī is the wife of Brahman in the stanza;

वाणीविलासमपरत्रकृतोपलम्भ-
मम्भोजभूरसहमान इवाविरासीत् ।
आभाति यत्कृति रनेकविधप्रपञ्च-
व्याजेन्द्रजालविधिसाधकपिण्डिकेव ॥

The poem is indeed written in a figurative language. Still it brings out the idea that Saraswatī is the wife of Brahman which was perhaps prevalent in the minds of the people of the times.

It is interesting to note that none of the lexicons in Sanskrit gives or suggests a single word to the effect that Saraswatī is the wife of Brahman.

Abhidhānarājendu, a Jain dictionary, uses the word in the sense of (1) a proper name given to the princess who married one Dhanavahana; (2) the queen of Gītarati, a Gandharva king; (3) and Goddess of learning.

Vaijayanti a famous lexicon in sanskrit says that the word is used to convey the meaning of the goddess of learning and a cow or earth.

Śabdakalpadruma uses the word in the sense of learning diety. It gives a passage taken as an extract from the *Vajra-khaṇḍa* chapter of *Brahmavaivasvatapurāṇa* to give the history of the particular diety.

Amarakōśa, the famous sanskrit dictionary, gives the following synonyms for the word Saraswatī indicating the female divinity, but nowhere it suggests the above said meaning :

ब्राह्मी (तु) भारती भाषा गीर् वाग् वाणी सरस्वती । (I. 5. 1)

Neither the *Amarakāra* nor his commentators suggest anywhere that Sararwatī is the wife of Brahman. Instead, they have used such words regarding Lakṣmī and Pārvatī as to bring out their relationship with Viṣṇu and Īśwara.

(i) कमला श्रीहिरिप्रिया (I. 1. 27)

(ii) शिवा भवानी रुद्राणी (I. 1. 37)

The epithets used for Viṣṇu and Īśwara by Amarasimha also suggest that they are lords of Lakṣmī and Pārvatī respectively.

माघव for Viṣṇu (माया लक्ष्म्या धवः)

उमापति for Īśwara (उमायाः पतिः)

It is however significant that the author of Nāmalingānu-śāsana does not give any word which would indicate the relationship between Saraswatī and Brahman. Some scholars have interpreted the word Brāhmi, used as a synonymn for Saraswatī, as the wife of Brahman. But it is doubtful if the word could suggest that meaning. ब्रह्मणः इयं ब्राह्मी would not give that meaning. It should have been Brahmāṇī just like Mṛdāṇī, to suggest this sense. Such a word is not to be found anywhere in the Amarakōśa.

Therefore it is evident that the idea—Saraswatī is the wife of Brahman—did not exist either in the Vedic period or in the early classical Sanskrit period. The idea is of a late origin emanating from the Purāṇic literature.

HINDU PLURALISM¹

(V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar)

"The pluralistic state is", says Kung Chuan Hsiao, "simply a state in which there exists no single source of authority that is all competent and comprehensive, namely, sovereignty, no unified system of law, no centralised organ of administration, no generalisation of political will. On the contrary, it is a multiplicity in its essence and manifestation, it is divisible into parts and should be divided." The merits of pluralism, are its special emphasis on individual freedom, its introduction of the group into political thought being a more concrete method of special organisation, its clear definition of special relations between man and man, its comprehensive outlook on government and law, and its healthy reaction against the paternalism and absolutism of the state.

But recent trends are shifting this emphasis to newer experiments in government somewhat awkwardly called "totalitarian". This change is mainly due to two causes. First, the church and the functional group organisations under the modern pluralistic system, such as Trade Unions, began to develop more and more as rival organisations to the State, and thus failed in the primary duty of co-ordinating with the State. Secondly, the sovereign rights of the State itself were slowly being undermined, and it came to be regarded merely as one among other institutions. This attitude is to deprive the State of its sovereignty without which no State would in reality exist at all. The purpose of the institution of the State was thus in process of being defeated.

If we turn to ancient Indian polity, we find a definite demarcation between the State and the Society. The ancient Greeks and Romans could not distinguish the State from the Society. But the ancient Hindus regarded them as organic institutions, independent of, though indispensable to, each other.

If we analyse the evidence in literature, Brahmanical and Buddhist, we have to infer that Society preceded the State,

1. This is a slight modification of the article that appeared in the *Aryan-Path* Feb. 1940 under the title. *Society and State in Ancient India.*

and it was a gradual growth. From one *Varna* or caste sprang up four *Varṇas* and four *Āśramas*, or orders in life. These four caste groups grew in course of time into a number of different groups, functional in character and extent. When social organisation reached a certain complex stage of development, it was felt necessary that there should be an authority with sovereign power to protect society and to foster its customs and conventions. It was felt that orderly social life was possible only if the State were stable and permanent. The dread of anarchy, characterised as *Matsyanyaya* (the bigger fish eating the smaller), and of *Arājaka* (absence of a sovereign power) leading to a state of tyrannicide, brought home to the ancient Indians the necessity of a stable and permanent organisation with a King at its head who should exercise, if necessity arose, his right of *daṇḍa*, or rod of punishment, and preserve the *dharma*, or function, of the individual and society. The end of the Hindu State did not terminate with police duty. Its jurisdiction covered the whole life of society, including religion, education, agriculture, industry, and commerce. This integration was achieved by the mechanism of group organisations which were so many voluntary associations, with a devolution of functions. Group life was not inspired by an outside agency, much less by the State. Members of one profession or of one occupation joined together and formed a group framing their own rules and regulations. It was incumbent on the part of every individual comprising this group to act up to the best interests of the group and to endeavour to observe the conventions of that group.

Let us now proceed to examine some of the groups mentioned in ancient Indian literature. We hear of *Kulas*, *Jātis*, *Śreṇis Gaṇas*, and *Jānapadas*, among others. The *Kulas* were corporations of kinsmen. The primary unit of the Hindu social organisation was, as it still is, the family, and not the individual as in the modern West. The Hindu genius discovered the importance and value of the joint family system and fostered its growth. Besides cultivating family relationships of interdependence and mutual service the joint family life solved the problem of poor relief and protected the disabled and the unfit. The virtues of love and affection were developed in the family group. Each able-bodied member

discharged his duty of making not only bread for himself, but also bread for the disabled members of the family. The eldest member in the house was the leader of the family group and his word was generally respected. So also the mother, who was regarded as the veritable queen of the home. The position of woman in Hindu society, it may be mentioned, has been much misunderstood. The famous Code of Manu insists that women be honoured by their fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law. For on this depends their own welfare. Yājñavalkya, another law-giver, adds mother-in-law and kinsmen, and explains the means by which women were to be honoured, viz., ornaments, clothes, and food. Śukra, the author of a treatise on polity, insists that she should be treated with love and affection by the husband and others. These mandates indicate a full recognition of the personality of woman in Hindu society. Thus the family, bound together by ties of affection and mutual responsibilities, was a happy group in which the citizen of the future underwent a life of discipline and cultivated a spirit of self-sacrifice which would stand him in good stead when he would be called upon to play the role of a citizen.

Next comes the organisation of *Jātis*, or caste groups. The caste organisation was an extension of the family group. The caste was out and out a functional group. The whole community of people was divided into four main groups, Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, to which were respectively assigned functions (a) of administering to the religious and spiritual needs of the society, (b) of protecting the *dharma* of society and of defending it from external attack, (c) of engaging in agriculture and commerce, and (d) of service. We also find *Pariṣads* and *Sanghas*. The *Pariṣad* was an association of learned Brahmins and the *Sangha* was invariably the Buddhist order of monks.

The caste bond was cemented on the basis of birth. It was recognised that hereditary occupations would generally bring about the greatest efficiency and draw out inherent skill and intelligence of a person. Apart from this, the caste group solved the problem yet unsolved in modern economic and other organisations of rivalry and competition which have worked such havoc in present Society. It promoted community life by a sense of individual and social duty which went by the

name of *Svadharmā*. The caste group, by performing its own duty and by not transgressing into other spheres, was made aware that by itself it could not exist; each caste depended upon the co-operation of other caste groups for its maintenance. Mutual service and fellowship of work were the resultant factors of this caste bond. With the gradual weakening of the bond in the past few centuries,—as any kind of work became available to persons of any caste,—dislocation set in Hindu Society. Today we in India are faced with the problems of poverty, unemployment, struggle for existence, bitter competition in all walks of life, labour unrest and decay in indigenous industries, arts and crafts, all too familiar in other parts of the world. The existence of these new problems chiefly economic, may be attributed to the break-down of the caste system in India.

The *Śreni* organisations on the other hand were not necessarily caste organisations. They were mainly associations of traders and merchants. Their members were those generally belonging to the Vaiśya caste, or the third group of Hindu society. This community voluntarily divided itself into a number of guilds each being entrusted with a specific function. Thus there were trade guilds, industrial guilds, and guilds of cultivators, all of which had a plan and a method. The guild was both an industrial and an economic association. Like other groups, the *Śreni* had its own laws to respect. Each guild had the right to impose dues and taxes on articles which came under its jurisdiction. It could punish misbehaviour on the part of its members with fines and sometimes expulsion. Some of the guilds had banking as one of their functions, and some had their own mints and issued coinage. They even regulated public endowments and kept watch on aliens and strangers visiting their village or city. Every guild was presided over by an official who was responsible to the State for the proper up-keep of the association and the payment of revenue due to the State. By discharging their respective functions of producing goods and distributing them at scheduled prices by proper weights and measures, these guilds were of considerable service to the State.

The social group that was represented by the fourth caste, the *Sūdras*, likewise had its own occupational organisations.

They contributed much to the material welfare of the State. Thus we find groups of sculptors, musicians, artists, oil-mongers, carpenters, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, blacksmiths, and many others. The Buddhist literature refers to eighteen distinct professional or occupational groups, which were all so many links in the chain that bound society to the State.

In addition to four main castes, there was the *Panchama* or the fifth caste which comprised persons of degraded professions, outcastes, aboriginal inhabitants and foreign tribes who had settled in the land. These peoples have been designated in various ways as 'depressed classes', as the 'untouchables' and the 'unapproachables'. Comprised of miscellaneous peoples, this caste became in course of time divided into a number of groups, almost hereditary in character, each group evolving what we can call caste sense. Each group had its own conventions and codes which were to be observed as punctiliously as possible. In the social esteem some groups of this caste considered themselves superior and maintained their own standards. We are told, for instance, that though the Pulayans and Nayadis of Malabar belong to the large group of the *Panchama* caste still the Pulayan would treat the Nayadi as an unapproachable and would engage himself in expiatory measures if a Nayadi were to contaminate him by approach.

Thus, it will be seen that whatever may be said today of the lot of the untouchables, recently designated Harijans, in ancient India these groups were contented with their position in society and forming as it were so many auxiliaries they promoted the well-being of society at large. The division of untouchables into various groups must have been originally based on occupations. Slowly each group assumed rigidity, the son generally following the occupation of the father. In course of time, the once occupational group became hereditary in character. The occupations pursued by these groups varied in character and extent. Some were field labourers, some scavengers, some liquor-dealers, some leather-workers and shoe-makers and some in charge of cremation grounds. These occupational groups became in the march of time the unapproachables by the nature of function they made their own. These had their habitations outside the

village. In the economy of ancient Indian village community these classes formed an integral part and were considered village servants. Their services were often paid in kind, and they had their own places of worship and their own rural amusements.

The untouchables like the barber and washerman enjoyed higher status in the social structure than the unapproachables and were also deemed a necessary adjunct of the village community. These had their own quarters which were in the immediate vicinity of the village. Their services were also paid in kind. Society in Hindu India did not favour a change of occupation on the part of an individual. He was generally expected to follow his ancestral calling. Nevertheless in cases of extreme necessity and only as a temporary measure one was allowed to change his occupation. But care was taken to see that such transformation involved no clash of interests. As has been already said the merit of the system lay in the fact that the birth of a certain individual in a group determined his occupation, and that it enabled him to learn his art or craft from his father thus making him skilled in his profession. There was no serious attempt on the part of any group to raise itself in the social scale at the cost of other groups. Social ambition of this kind was absent in ancient India. Each member of the functional and occupational castes felt that his birth in that group was due to his actions good or bad in the past life or lives, and in consequence thereof he worked out his own salvation by discharging the duty assigned to him by his group. Thus this tie of association between one group and another was so strong that smooth-sailing of the ship of society was ensured.

In this connection it must be pointed out that what contributed to harmony was the economic self-sufficiency of each section of the caste. Each group was in fact a 'legal community' with its own laws and customs and its code of honour. As long as means of livelihood were guaranteed there was no room for dissatisfaction of any sort. This explains, to a large extent, why there were no civil wars throughout the history of India, while we hear of Patrician and Plebian struggles in ancient Rome and many a civil war in the history of Europe. This nullifies the rather prosaic conclusion of the modern reformer that caste exclusiveness produced the stigma of 'untouchability'.

Notwithstanding the function and nature of their different organisations, these groups were made to feel the interdependence of one over the other, so that common ideals permeated the group mind. Thus, it will be seen that the normal life lived in the villages, district towns and capitals of ancient India was fundamentally group life.

The State in ancient India had well-marked boundaries. As the family was the unit in social organisation, the village was the unit in the Hindu administrative system. The village was administered by the *Panchayat* or council of elders, whose decisions were final in matters legislative and judicial. There was a regular hierarchy of officers :—the headman of a village, the head of ten villages, of twenty villages, of a hundred villages, and of a thousand villages. These heads of the rural country were the connecting links between the territorial units on the one hand and the State on the other. The village headman was responsible to the State for its share in the produce of the village, since every territorial unit was expected to pay a certain amount of revenue, either in cash or in kind, to the State, in return for its protection. If any villager felt that injustice was done to him, either by the headman or by the *Panchayat* of his village, he had the right of appeal to the headman of ten villages and so on upto the king who was the final court of appeal. The duty of the chief of ten villages was to hear appeals from villages under his control and to settle disputes about boundaries, encroachments, and damage to property. These territorial groups were so many village communities which were self-sufficient and self-sufficing. They enjoyed autonomy in internal affairs. The State allowed them to transact business and administer laws consistent with the traditions, usages and customs of the locality. Whenever the village community failed in the proper discharge of its duties, then only did the State interfere.

The *Jānapadas* were what we now call district and provincial organisations. These were associations much bigger than the village community and comprised a definite territorial unit. In fact, the Hindu State, like the modern State, was organised on a territorial basis.

The *Gaṇas*, again, represented a further form of group life. *Gaṇas* were so many tiny republics. We hear of the Licchivigana and the confederacy of Vajjians, much celebrated in the annals of Buddhism. From the Vedic age India was divided into a number of small independent kingdoms which we call republics. These kingdoms were largely governed by free and independent clans. Their government was non-monarchical in character. There was no king as such. But the clan as a whole was in charge of these States. Though we hear of this form of administration side by side with monarchy from the Vedic period, still with the rise of Buddhism especially from the sixth century B. C. these kingdoms seemed to have attained much celebrity. If we search the Buddhist books we meet with many clans of which ten seem to have been very powerful.

The tribal assembly was an important institution of these republics. It was a public assembly of the clan at which young and old met, and took active part in its many-sided deliberations. Here the administrative and judicial affairs of the State were discussed and decided. The clan elected its own leaders who were the chief spokesmen and also led the host in war. Some tribes like the Vrishnis took up the role of an oligarchy. So long as there was union among the members of the clan these tribal republics continued to flourish. In this connection the words of the great Buddha as addressed to Ananda in regard to the Vajjian clan may be quoted : " So long, Ananda. as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies, so long they may be expected not to decline, but to prosper. So long as the Vajjians meet together in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord, so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has already been enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians as established in former days, so long as they honour, and esteem and support the Vajjian Elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words, *so long* may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but prosper."

There is incontestable evidence that some of these republics flourished to the end of the fourth century A. D. But signs of decline and decay were evident from the days of the

Mauryan rule. 'The popularity of Kingship as a form of government and the notion of an imperial monarchy like that of the Mauryas and the Guptas, with large-sized States, led indirectly to the fall of these republican States, which were gradually absorbed in the imperial State. In their heyday these autonomous organisations of the *Ganas* cultivated political and social virtues, to an extent, which promoted the well-being of the body-politic.

Thus, we see that by voluntary group-life the Hindus were able to preserve and maintain intact the health of the State. These groups were functional and territorial in character. Liberty was given to each group to manage its affairs and each enjoyed, in its own way, self-government. This fostered progress in political and economic spheres of activity and to this extent the State benefited. Each group while asserting its rights never failed to acknowledge the suzerainty of the State, and acted within its own limits. Whenever these limits were crossed, then came State interference and generally the decision of the State was accepted by the group.

A word may be said about the nature of the sovereignty of the State in ancient India. Sometimes it is assumed, on the basis of European concept of the 'divine right of kings' that it was unlimited sovereignty, that the king was, in other words, an autocrat whose actions were not checked or limited. This is entirely to misconstrue the whole theory of the State in ancient India. The King's position was limited by a system of checks and balances. His duty was only to be the custodian of *dharma*. Whenever the function and duty of a particular group or groups were in danger, then he exercised his power and set aright the established tradition. His was primarily a moral responsibility. He had no right to legislate. The law was already there. It was his duty to administer the law. But he never attempted to do it himself. He sought the advice of his judges and ministers before taking any final conclusion. The judges interpreted the law and delivered their judgment. That the law was not stagnant but progressive is seen from the large number of law books and commentaries on Hindu Law texts which appeared from about 1000 B.C. onwards.

Above the king was law, to which both State and Society attached sacredness. The king should act righteously and secure the highest welfare of his subjects, both here and hereafter. At every stage the king was reminded that he had more onerous responsibilities to discharge than rights to enjoy. He was expected to identify himself so much with the society of which he formed a part, that his interests were his people's interests. According to Kauṭālyā, the author of *Arthaśāstra*, the celebrated treatise on polity, the king's happiness lies in the happiness of his people, his welfare in their welfare, and his interest in their own interests. Solicitude for the welfare of the people on the part of the king receives confirmation from Asoka's edicts where the emperor shows his anxiety to be of service to his peoples, an all-embracing humanity. King Dilīpa, we are told, exhibited paternal attitude towards his people by sheltering them from all kinds of danger and by attending to all their comforts. A king who behaved thus to his people could not be termed an autocrat: nor did such good monarchy smack of paternal despotism.

The ancient Indian monarch was first and last the people's king. The elective character of Kingship can be easily seen from the hymns of the *Rig Veda* and the *Atharva Veda* as well. A hymn of the *Atharva Veda* states explicitly 'Let the people choose their King'. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, belonging to the category of Vedic literature, the king is said to enter into a contract with his people during the coronation ceremony by taking a solemn oath to interest himself ever in the welfare of his subjects, under penalty of losing his kingdom. Though the elective kingship was substituted by hereditary kingship in course of time, still the principle of elective kingship died hard. Whenever a succession was disputed the opinion of the people was sought and generally acted upon. When once the principle of the election of the king by the people was admitted it naturally followed that the same people had the right to depose the king if he should misbehave. The authors of the *Vedic Index* observe: "Royal power was clearly insecure: there are several references to kings being expelled from their realms and their efforts to recover their sovereignty."

It will be interesting in this connection to say a word or two about the traditional practice of setting up the *Yuvarāja* or the Crown Prince. A classical instance is seen in the *Rāmāyana* where King Dasaratha in consultation with his priest Vasiṣṭha made elaborate preparations to get Rama crowned as the *Yuvarāja*. Religious ceremonies of different kinds were a feature of this occasion : but the chief purpose of the installation of a Crown Prince was to ensure his succession to the throne and to help the reigning king in the discharge of his administration. The inauguration had to be formally approved by the subjects. It will be readily conceded that the people participated in every detail of administration.

In the exercise of sovereignty, again, the State did not encroach on the various rights of social and political organisations which were so many voluntary associations : consequently individual freedom was safeguarded. While working out his own salvation, the individual was not allowed to forget his duty and service to his group and consequently to his country. The group idea promoted community life and generated a sense of fellow-feeling and brotherhood. The group life was an instance of collective activity for the common good and common welfare, maintained by mutual understanding and mutual adjustments.

THE YUGAS

(D. R. Mankad)

In this paper I shall consider the question of the real sense of the word yuga and the number of years given to each yuga in our ancient literature. Usually the Purāṇas give the years for different yugas both according to mānava and divya (360 mānava years = 1 divya year) measures thus:—

(1) *Mānava measure*

1728000 mānava years = Kṛta Yuga

1296000 mānava years = Tretā Yuga

864000 mānava years = Dvāpara Yuga

432000 mānava years = Kali Yuga

4320000 mānava years = Mahāyuga or Caturyuga

(2) *Divya measure*

	Sandhyā	Sandhyāṅśa	
4800	(400 + 4000 + 400)	divya years =	Kṛta
3600	(300 + 3000 + 300)	divya years =	Tretā
2400	(200 + 2000 + 200)	divya years =	Dvāpara
1200	(100 + 1000 + 100)	divya years =	Kali

12000

divya years = mahāyuga
or caturyuga

It should be noted here that according to the general Purāṇic belief each yuga has 4000, 3000, 2000 and 1000 divya years respectively, but before and after the yuga proper there is an interim period, which is called sandhyā and sandhyāṅśa respectively and which has as many hundreds of years as there are thousands in the yuga proper. Thus after the 4000 years of the Kṛta, Tretā will not begin immediately, but there will be an interim period of 400 years which may be called Kṛta or may not be called Kṛta. Again before the start of Tretā proper there will be an interim period of 300 years which may not be called Tretā. Similarly in the case of other yugas. This will show that in the above tables, the figures in mānava years do not show separately the sandhyā and sandhyāṅśa periods, but show the full totals of each yuga.

Number of years for different yugas as given above, is found in most of the Purāṇas.¹ But there are certain noteworthy statements about yuga calculations in some of the Purāṇic and astronomical works. I shall now proceed to note down these.

- (1) Viṣṇupurāṇa (4, 24, 144ff) has the following :

त्रीणि लक्षाणि वर्षाणां द्विजमानुषसंख्यया ।

षष्टिश्चैव सहस्राणि भविष्यन्त्यैव वै कलि ॥

शतानि तानि दिव्यानां सप्त पञ्च च संख्यया ।

निश्शेषेण गते तस्मिन् भविष्यति पुनः कृतम् ॥

Here Kali has been given 360000 mānava years or 12000 divya years. If these verses are to be taken literally they will yield 300 mānava years for one divya year ($\frac{360000}{1200} = 300$). But

it is possible that the author has included here sandhyā and sandhyāṅśa in the figure of divya years and has not done so in the case of the mānava figure. I have noted this here because it is rather unusual to give mānava years for a yuga without the interim periods.

- (2) Skanda (Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa, Pūrvabhāga, 7, 4ff) has a greatly confused statement about yuga-years.

लक्षाश्च अयुताः प्रोक्ताः अयुत द्वे तथैव च ।

अष्टौ वर्षसहस्रान्ते कलेः कृतयुगस्य च ॥ ४ ॥

लक्षद्वादश वै प्रोक्ताः सहस्रास्त्रियुता युता ।

त्रेतायुगप्रमाणं च पुराणे परिकीर्तितम् ॥ ५ ॥

अपि षष्टिसहस्रेण लक्षैश्चाष्टप्रकीर्तितम् ।

द्वापरं त्रियुगं तत्र पुराणे परिकीर्तितम् ॥ ६ ॥

लक्षाष्टकसमाख्यातमयुते द्वे तथैव च ।

अष्टवर्षसहस्रान्ते काले कलियुगाभिधे ॥ ७ ॥

This seems to mean that Kṛta has 1000028000 years, Treatā has 31200000 or 1213000 years, Dvāpara has 860000 and Kali has 828000 years. But the text here seems to be highly confused and I give it up as hopeless; though the years for Tretā and Dvāpara are somewhat nearer to their usual figures, the years for the other two yugas are nowhere nearer the mark.

1. Mar. 46, 26 ff; Mat. 142, 24ff; Vy. 8, 51; etc.—almost all the Purāṇas have the same measures for the yugas.

Nor is there any scheme in the proportion between the various yugas.

(3) Manusmṛti has the following (1, 68ff) :

ब्राह्मस्य तु क्षपाहस्य यत्प्रमाणं समासतः ।
 एकैकशो युगानां तु क्रमशस्तन्निबोधत ॥ ६८ ॥
 चत्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तु कृतं युगम् ।
 तस्य तावच्छती संध्या संध्यांशश्च तथाविधः ॥ ६९ ॥
 इतरेषु ससंध्येषु ससंध्यांशेषु च त्रिषु ।
 एकापायेन वर्तन्ते सहस्राणि शतानि च ॥ ७० ॥
 यदेतत्परिसंख्यातमादावेव चतुर्युगम् ।
 एतद्द्वादशसाहस्रं देवानां युगमुच्यते ॥ ७१ ॥
 दैविकानां युगानां तु सहस्रं परिसंख्यया ।
 ब्राह्ममेकमहर्जये तावतीं रात्रिमेव च ॥ ७२ ॥

This yields the following table :

Kṛta :	400 + 4000 + 400	=	4800
Tretā :	300 + 3000 + 300	=	3600
Dvāpara :	200 + 2000 + 200	=	2400
Kali :	100 + 1000 + 100	=	1200
Caturyuga :		=	12000
12000 years	= divya yuga		
2000 divya yugas	= Brahmā's ahorātra.		

Here the years are not characterised as divya and therefore they are taken as mānava years.¹ This passage preserves some distinct tradition because what is usually taken as caturyuga or Kalpa is here called divya yuga.

(4) Mahābhārata has the following : (Vana parva, 188, V, 12-28)

आदितो मनुजव्याघ्र कृत्स्नस्य जगतः क्षये ।
 चत्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तत्कृतं युगम् ॥
 तस्य तावच्छती संध्या संध्यांशस्तु तथाविधाः ।
 त्रीणि वर्षसहस्राणि त्रेतायुगमिहोच्यते ।
 तस्य तावच्छती संध्या संध्यां शततः परं ॥

1. Cp. Tilak, Aiyer who quotes on this point the agreement of Roth, Wilking and others.

तथा वर्षसहस्रे द्वे द्वापरं परिमाणतः ।
 तस्यापि द्विशती संध्या संध्यांशश्च तथाविधः ॥
 सहस्रमेकं वर्षाणां तथा कलियुगं स्मृतं ।
 तस्य वर्षशतं संधिः संध्यांशश्च ततः परं ।
 एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्तिता ।
 एतत्सहस्रपर्यन्तमहर्ब्राह्ममुदाहृतम् ॥

Here also years are not characterised as divya or mānava and therefore as in the case of Manusmṛti, here also we should take the mānava years.

(5) Nirukta has the following : (14th adhyāya)

सा (प्रकृतिः) स्वपिति युगसहस्रं रात्रिस्तावतावहोरात्रावजस्रं परिवर्तते स
 कालस्तदेतदहर्भवति युगसहस्रपर्यन्तमहर्ब्राह्मणो विदू रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तां तेऽहोरात्र-
 विदो जनः इति ॥

Here Brahmā's day is said to have 1000 yugas. So has his night 1000 yugas. The word used is yuga and not caturyuga or kalpa or divya yuga.

(6) Alberuni (i, p. 373) quotes the following from Brahmagupta :

"Further Brahmagupta says that Āryabhaṭṭa considers the four yugas as the four equal parts of a caturyuga. Thus he differs from Smṛti just mentioned and he who differs from us is an opponent. On the other hand Brahmagupta praises Pauliṣa for what he does, since he does not differ from the book Smṛti for he subtracts 1200 from the 4800 years of the Krita Yuga and diminishes the remainder still more, so as to get yugas which correspond with those of the Smṛti, but yugas without sandhyā and sandhyānsa.

There is a tradition that Pauliṣa in his Siddhānta specifies various new rules for the computation of these numbers, some of which may be accepted, whilst others are to be rejected. So in the rule for the computation of the yugas he puts 48 as the basis and subtracts one-fourth of it so as to get 36. Then again he subtracts 12, for this number is his basis of subtraction, so as to get 24, and subtracting the same number a third time he gets 12. These 12 he multiplies by 100 and the product represents the number of divya years of the yugas.

(7) S. B. Dikshit, while giving details about Romaka Siddhānta has given the following quotation from Brahmagupta :¹

युगमन्वन्तरकल्पाः कालपरिच्छेदकाः स्मृतावुक्ताः ।

यस्मान्न रोमके ते स्मृतिबाह्यो रोमकस्तस्मात् ॥

Another quotation is given by Dikshit from Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira:²

रोमकयुगमर्केन्दोर्वर्षाण्याकाशपञ्चवसुपक्षः (२८५०) खेन्द्रियदिशो
(१०५०) अधिमासाः स्वरकृतविषयाष्टवः (१६५४७) प्रलयाः ।

i. e. Romaka yuga is of 2850 years, its adhimāsas are 1050 and its pralayas i. e. tithikṣayas are 16547.

It will be seen that out of the various points of view recorded above, the following points of consideration emerge :

(1) What is the real sense of the word yuga ? What particular time-unit did yuga represent ?

(2) What is the reason of adding sandhyā and sandhyāṅśa periods ?

(3) Why does the first Āryabhaṭṭa take equal number of years for all yugas ?

(4) Why does Puliśa prescribe such a rule for the computation of yuga-years ?

(5) Why does Romaka Siddhānta take a yuga to have 2850 years ?

I shall consider some of these points here and others I shall leave for the future.

(1) The sense of the word yuga :

European scholars translate the word in the Ṛgveda by 'generation' or 'life'. But there are some Indian scholars who have examined the question of yuga-theory in some details. Rangacharya,³ V. G. Aiyer,⁴ Tilak,⁵ S. B. Dikshit⁶ and Shama-

1. See his Bhāratiya Jyotiṣaśāstra, 2nd ed., p. 155.

2. Ibid. p. 157.

3. See his The Yugas (as quoted by Tilak in Arctic Home in the Vedas).

4. See his The Chronology of Ancient India.

5. See his The Arctic Home in the Vedas.

6. See his Bhāratiya Jyotiṣaśāstra.

shastry¹ have discussed this question. All those scholars have come to the conclusion that even in R̥gveda yuga means a period of time. Tilak takes yuga to mean 'a month' or 'a period from the first to the last dawn of the year' i. e. less than one year. But they all agree that yuga at different times meant a period of a month or 5, 10, 100, 1000 or 10000 years. Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa gives five years for yuga, so does Kauṭilya.

Dikshit has given the ordinary astronomical sense of the word yuga thus : (P. 24)

कांहींएक गोष्ट कांहींएक क्रमानें एकदां घडून ती तशाच कालक्रमानें पुनः घडण्याचें जें एक कालपरिमाण तें युग.

The yuga is that time-measure which is used in recomputing a particular in the same order in which order it is previously computed.

Really speaking yuga seems to have meant any unit of time. For instance, even in Kālidāsa we have (Śakuntala, IV act) :

युगान्तरमारुढः सविता

where yuga would mean 'a quarter of the day'. Yuga meant one year also. In Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa the following occurs :

वर्षे पूर्णे नराणां च देवानां च दिवानिशम् ।

शतत्रये पृथ्यधिके नराणां च युगे गते ।

देवानां युगे ज्ञेयो कालसंख्याविदां मतः ॥ ७३ ॥

Reading this passage in full context there, it will be clearly seen that yuga there means 'year' only. Even in R̥gveda it is possible to find out cases where yuga means 'a year'.

R. Shamashastry writes, (Gavāṃ Ayanam p. 128) " From the passage of the Bhagavatī Sūtra quoted above, we know that Kaliyuga is the name of the first year, Dvāparayuga of the second, Tretāyuga of the third and Kṛtayuga of the fourth and so on, in every cycle of four years. Accordingly it is clear that the word yuga was sometimes used in the sense of a year and sometimes in the sense of four years."

Thus, it seems, that yuga had so many senses :

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| (1) a quarter of a day | (Kālidāsa) |
| (2) a month | (Tilak) |

1. See his Gavāṃ Ayanam.

(3)	a period just less than a year	(Tilak) ¹
(4)	one year	(Shamashastry)
(5)	four years	"
(6)	five years	(Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa) ²
(7)	ten years	(S. B. Dikshit) ³
(8)	100 years	(Atharvaveda) ⁴
(9)	1000 years	(") ⁴
(10)	10000 years	(") ⁴

Shamashastry has suggested that the first year was called Kali, second Dvāpara, third Tretā and fourth Kṛta. According to him the total of all these was four. This means that each yuga had one year and their total was four. This may have been one method of yuga-computation.

But it seems that there was another method of yuga-computation. In our usual figures of 1000, 2000, 3000 and 4000 = 10000; or 1200, 2400, 3600 and 4800 = 12000, the proportion between the different yugas is 1: 2: 3: 4. If the same method i.e. the same proportion be allowed for the very first calculation, it will yield 1: 2: 3: 4: = 10 years.

Thus there would be two possible methods of yuga-computaion, one having the proportion 1: 1: 1: 1 = 4 and the other having the proportion 1: 2: 3: 4 = 10.

According to the second method the total will be arrived at thus. The first year will be taken by itself singly. That will be the first yuga. The next two years, which will bring the total to three years, will be the second yuga. Next three years, bringing the total to six years, will be the third yuga. Next four years bringing the total to ten years, will be the fourth yuga. Thus :

Kaliyuga (1 year, yuga meaning year, kali meaning one)

Dvāparayuga (2 years, not the 2nd year but next collection of 2)

Tretāyuga (3 years, not the 3rd year but next collection of 3)

1. See his Arctic Home in the Vedas p. 176-177.

2. See Bhāratīya Jyotiṣaśāstra, by S. B. Dikshit, p. 24 ff.

3. Ibid p. 24 ff.

4. Atharvaveda VIII, 2, 21; also Tilak, V. G. Aiyer, Shamashastry, Dikshit.

Kṛtayuga (4 years, not the 4th year but collection of 4)
And the total of these four yugas will be ten years.

This means that we can take the total of four yugas to be four or ten years. In the former case, each yuga will have equal number of years and in the latter case the proportion of number of years will be 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 .

Let us follow up both these methods of yuga-computation.

This collection of ten years may also be taken as a yuga. So according to the first method, the first ten years will be the first yuga, next ten years (20 from the beginning) will be the second yuga, next ten years (30 from the beginning) will be the third yuga and the next ten years (40 from the beginning) will be the fourth yuga. Thus this group of forty years may be called a caturyuga.

According to the second method, first yuga will have 10 years, second yuga will have 20 years, third yuga will have 30 years and the fourth yuga will have 40 years. Their total will have 100 years.

Just as 10 may be taken as a unit of yuga, for bigger calculations, 100 years may be taken as a unit of yuga or a basic yuga. This, then, according to the above two methods, will give for four yugas 400 years and 1000 years respectively.

Again for bigger calculations, this 1000 years may be taken as a basic yuga, which would yield a caturyuga of 4000 years and 10000 years, according to the above two methods.

Thus there will be so many possibilities :

(1)	1	1	(2)	10	10
	1	2		10	20
	1	3		10	30
	1	4		10	40
	<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
	4	10		40	100
(3)	100	100	(4)	1000	1000
	100	200		1000	2000
	100	300		1000	1000
	100	400		1000	4000
	<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
	400	1000		4000	10000

Thus between different yugas the proportion may be $1:1;1:1=4$ or $1:2:3:4=10$. A basic yuga may have 1, 10, 100, 1000, 10000 and caturyuga may have 4, 40, 400, 4000, or 10, 100, 1000, 10000 years.

But out of these methods of yuga calculations which is the original? I shall make some suggestions about this.

I think that in this connection, words like Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā and Kṛta are significant. Kali is, of course, one, but what is the force of 'para' in dvāpara? Tretā again is distinct from all the other three terms inasmuch as it is a feminine word. Why is it feminine? Kṛta seems to be the oldest word. I think that originally the words kali, dvāpara, tretā and kṛta were not used for yuga-calculations, but the words like ekata, dvita (not dvāpara), trita (not tretā) and kṛta were used for that purpose. In ekata, dvita, trita and kṛta, 'ta' is the ordinal termination. In Sanskrit we have 'ta' as well as 'ma' as the ordinal termination e. g. in tṛtīya and dvitīya the original words tṛ and dvi have ta added to them, 'iya' being possessive termination giving the sense 'of the third' 'of the second'. So also in caturtha (catur + tha), ṣaṣṭha (ṣaṣ + tha) it is 'ta', 'ta' in these cases being changed to 'tha' and 'ṭha' respectively. Aṣṭa has 'ta' changed into 'ṭa'. In prathama, pancama, saptama etc, the termination is 'ma'. Now out of these two ordinal terminations, 'ta' seems to have been the older termination. In fact 'ta' is Indo-European. We find it present in the English fourth (four + th), fifth (five + th) etc., upto nineteenth, where like caturtha, the 'ta' is found as 'th'. Thus the forms ekata, dvita, trita, and kṛta may mean first, second, third and fourth and they seem to be the original terms. In kṛta, the word is kṛ which means four.

The second method of yuga-computation seems to have its origin in the game of dice. It is well-known that four different throws of dice were differently called kali, dvāpara, tretā and kṛta. There was one dice having four sides marked with 1, 2, 3, and 4. This would mean that when dice was thrown, if the side marked 1 came up, the player got one mark, if the side marked 2 came up, he got two marks etc. Total of all the four

sides was ten. This game of dice will explain the terms dvāpara and tretā. The word for dice in Sanskrit was akṣa as well as akṣā (masculine as well as feminine). Thus three of the words were masculine (kali, dvāpara and Kṛta) and one (tretā) was feminine. Again each of these words meant 'a collection of one', 'a collection of two', etc. Dvāpara literally will mean 'next two' and it will be a word suitable to the game of dice and therefore to this second method of yuga-computation only.

If the above explanation of the words ekata etc., and kali etc., is correct it would mean that the original computation of yugas was serial, taking each yuga to have one year only.

Thus we see that both these methods of yuga computation are possible.

(2) It is said that first Āryabhaṭṭa takes all yugas to have equal number of years. According to the usual calculation the total of four yugas is 10000 or 12000 divya years. If now we take each yuga to have equal number of years, each yuga will have 2500 or 3000 years. But this is attested by no evidence. Then why did Āryabhaṭṭa make such a statement?

We have seen above the possibility of two methods of yuga-computation. Out of these two methods the second is the usual practice, according to which the yugas will have years :

1000 (without संख्या०)	1200 (with संख्या०)
2000	2400
3000	3600
4000	4800
<hr/>	<hr/>
10000	12000

This method is the one accepted by the Purāṇas. But the first method also seems to have been in vogue. According to that method yugas will have the following years :

1000	1200
1000	1200
1000	1200
1000	1200
<hr/>	<hr/>
4000	4800

It seems that Aryabhaṭṭa had this method of yuga-computation in mind, when he said that all yugas had equal number of years. This would, incidentally, prove that what we have called the first method was in vogue at some time. It is only on that assumption that we can explain his remark about equal number of years for all yugas.

(3) We have quoted Alberuni to show that Puliśa gives a method of yuga-computation, which takes 4800 as the basic figure and 1200 as the basis of subtraction. This also can be explained if we believe that Puliśa believed in the first method of computation of yugas. For if we take the second method, the total will be 12000 and there will be no point in taking 4800 as the basic number. Again subtraction of 1200 each time also shows that each yuga had 1200 years.

Thus what I say about the yugas is somewhat new. Before me Tilak, Shamashastry and others have expressed the opinion that divya years for yugas given in Purāṇas, are really mānava years. Therefore according to them yugas have 4800, 3600, 2400 and 1200 years or without interim periods 4000, 3000, 2000, and 1000 years respectively. It will be seen that they accept the second method. I accept that divya years of the Purāṇas are really mānava years, but stipulate that at first all yugas had equal number of years i.e. 1000 years only and then they came to have 1200 years. And it was very late that this second method of yuga-computation was adopted. I shall give ample and definite proofs in support of this in my future studies of this subject.¹

1. My next paper in this connection entitled The Manvantara will appear in Indian Historical Quarterly, in near future.

THE CARWAR FACTORY AND SHIVAJI

(B. G. Tamaskar, B.A., DIP. GEOG.)

1. *Shivaji first comes to Carwar:—*

Carwar:—The history of the relations of the factors of Karwar factory is no less interesting than that of those of the Rajapore factors.

This is the account of his first visit to Carwar:—

“About the beginning of February Sevagy himself in person set forth out of Mawlunda (Malvan), with a fleet of 85 frigots and 3 great shippes and so sailing by Goa, without any impediment from the Vice Roy of Goa arrived at Basselore (Barsilore), plundered it and so returned to Gocurne a place between Mergee and Ancola, where is a great church of the Hendues, to which they often come in pilgrimage, there having washed his body, according to the ceremony of that place, he set forth, and came to Ancola with 4000 foot, having sent all his fleet, saving 12 frigots. which he detained for transportation of his army over the rivers he was to passe between that place and his own country. From thence, *the 22nd February*, he came to Carwar, but thanks be to God, he was not so speedy in his designe but wee had notice per our spies wee kept for the purpose; and though the news came not time enough to escape up in the country, yet (? we were able) to clap all the Companies ready mony &c., a portable comodities board a shipp belonging to the Hummum (Imam) of Manseat, lying here in the river, of about 100 tons, well manned (and commanded) by Emanuell Donnavado, who promis'd us that as long as his shipp could possibly hold out, or God blessed him with life, no perswasion or attempts whatsoever should diswade him from his former resolution to keep his shipp. Besides, he promised us, if we saw occasion, to saile out and land us at what port we desired. Sevagee's vessels, being (all but 12) pass'd by the day before. *These things considered, we resolved to live or die with our masters estate aboard of said vessel, rather then yield up to the said tyrant, knowing no other way so probable as this whereby wee might have any likelihood of saving ourselves etc. a.*

The same night we got on board, arrived one Shere Canune, Lieutenant General to Bullul Caune, not knowing any thing of Sevagees approach, but he sent to us to desire us to use what means possible to secure the river, hearing of Sevagys approach. The cause of his coming was to freight a ship of Rustum Jeamahs to carry Bullul Caune's mother to Mocha, and to conduct the lading of the said shipp down to this port. He fortified himself with the goods he brought down, as well as the shortness of the time would permit. He had not with him above 200 horse and 300 foot, but we believe his name might well supply the place of his forces wanting of the number of Sevagees, he being a man cried up much in this country. The night of his arrivall he dispatched a man to Sevagy to certifie him of his arrivall and to desire him not to pass through that town, as he heard he intended : for if he did, he must use what meanes he could to stop his passage, having a great many goods of his masters on the Bunder, *for security of which he could not admit of so potent an enemy so near his quarters.* At length, upon several messages passing between them, Sevagy unwilling to distast him, knowing his power with his master and strength of Bullel Caune in this kingdom, condiscended to goe a little out of his way, and so came and incamped with his army at the River's mouth ; whereas before he intended to passe through the town. At his arrivall there he sent an ambassador to Shere Caune, telling him of his arrivall, and that he heard that the Muscat shipp commanded per Emanuell, aboard of which were the English, and another shipp belonging to Cong, had both prepared to resist him, therefore he desired he would either deliver us up, or retiring himself, permit him to revenge himselfe of us, whom he styled his invenerate enemies. This news Shere Caune sent us on board desiring to know our final answer ; the contents whereof was that we had nothing on board but powder and bullets, which if he thought they would serve him instead of gold, he might come and fetch them.

This our answer being sent to Sevagy did so exasperate him that he said he would have us before he parted, which the Governour of the towne hearing, they perswaded all the merchants to agree to send him a present least he should recall his fleet, which lay on this side Salset, and at length we concluded it our

best way to promise our share then runne the hazzard of the Companies estate in Carwar being about 8000 pagodas. This businesse will stand the Company in neare 112 li., but hope to get some of it abated. With this Sevagee departed the 23rd *February*, very unwillingly, saying that Shere Caune had spoil'd his hunting at his Hule (Holee), which is a time he generally attempts some such designe".¹

One thing is not however explicable, Sir Jadunath Sarkar Writes :—"By this time" Rustam-i-zaman seems to have returned to Carwar at first. Mohammad Ikhalas Khan was tranferred from the Government of Karwar and his friends from that of Ankola, Shiveshwar (or Halekot), Kedra and other places in North Kanara and these places were given to three of Rustam's sons. In August Rustam himself was ordered to go to that region with two other Bijapore Generals and try to expel Shivaji. He reached Kudal at the end of August but did nothing". (F. R. Surat, 104, Karwar, 23rd July and Hubli, 28 August 1664).³

The Karwar factors writing on the *28th Jan. 1665*, say ; "Shivagee being expected down to Gokurne, where if he comes, though it's thought he will not rob any of Rustam Jeanmah's country, yet we will not trust him, but will secure what possible we can."⁴ This general belief is borne out by the fact that "Shivaji condemned the attack⁵ on his ally's town of Rajapore, dismissed, the general responsible for it, 'commanded all things that his soldiers took from the towns men (at Rajapur) to be restored" and "put Rustam-i-Zaman's agents again in possession of the town and post."⁶ (F. R. Rajapore. p. 110 and 113, dated 15th and 20th Feb. 1660.) In short, it seems Shivaji could not think of plundering a town in the viceroyalty of Rustam-i-Zaman. How could he think of plundering Karwar which also was within his viceroyalty as shown above? Moreover.

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 104, p. 189, dated 14th March 1665.

2. I. e., April 1664.

3. Sir J. N. Sarkar, "Shivaji and His Times", pp. 271-2, Second Edition.

4. F. R. Surat, Vol. 104, p. 215.

5. I. e., The First attack on Rajapur.

6. "Shivaji and His Times", pp. 265, Second Edition.

Bahlol Khan seems to have a friend in Shahji, Shivaji's father.¹ And Sher Khan was a Lieutenant of Bahlol Khan and was clearly trying to send his master's mother away to Mocha, probably for safety. Therefore, the attempt of Shivaji to plunder Karwar, in Feb. 1665, becomes all the more inexplicable.

We believe the explanation is furnished in letter from Rajapur to Surat, dated 18th Feb. 1663 :—

'Without friendship with him there will be no safety in staying at Carwar, for that traitorous blade Rustum Jeamah (who is owner of that town as he was of Rajapore) will easily consent to the robbing thereof as he did of this, and then the English, if not at amity with Sevagy, must suffer amongst the rest, and afterwards Rustum Jeamah laugh in his sleeve, as now he doth, that he can finely play the rogue underhand and thinks nobody deserves his villainy; but this may be said to looke a great way of (f)."²

The following corroborates the above :—

"Wee.....hear that the King of Vizapore hath given them i.e., Robert Master, etc., a phirmaund to trade in his country. Rustum Jeamah hath likewise given them faire promises, but they are, as we humbly think, not to be hearkened too; besides Sevagee hath an army so nigh that it can remove easily to Carwarr when the goods come down, so that we feare there is no trussing either....."³

2. *The withdrawal of the English Fatory*:—Then on account of Jai Sinha's expedition against him, Shivaji was occupied in domestic affairs and then in his journey to Agra, his stay there and return therefrom. But the local disturbances referred to above were so trying and prolonged and Shivaji escaped back safe to his country, the English factory of Karwar was withdrawn towards *the end of September or beginning of October 1666* lest it also should fall a prey to the general vengeance that every body expected Shivaji would wreck upon all.

"Wee observe you have at last disposed of all your goods whereby the Company's estate resting with you is now in your possession in ready cash, which occasioned a consultation to bee

1. F. R. Surat; Vol. 103, p. 284, dated 20th July 1663.

2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 103, p. 248, dated 18th February 1663.

3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 103, p. 103, dated 1 Sept. 1663.

held wherein to consider and resolve what was further to be concluded most safe and convenient to be done, now that the tymes are so very confused, as at present both by sea and land fearing upon good grounds it may be yet worse both with you and us. For now it is certaine that the Rebell Seavage hath made his escape from the Mogull's Court, with so good success as it is thought hee is already got into his own country, greatly incenced against this king for his slight reception and entertainment of him, for which he hath vowed a revenge to the extent of his mallice and is already with an army of 4 or 5 thousands horses advanced very neare to this place ; at which tyme the town has received so hot an allarme that all begin againe for to prepare themselves for flight, that breeds great distraction, but what truth is to be given to this report teme will shew, and if it should blow over, yet now that Seavage is againe at liberty, we shall always (wee mean the people) bee in feare of his comming and will take of merchants very much from minding there trade, to secure themselves, their wives and children, which gives us cause to doubt whether something of this nature may not also reach you ; to prevent which, and those other inconveniences you are exposed to by the civil comotions in these parts, wee have resolved to draw you off together with the Company's estate for the present."¹

The above is fully borne out by another letter dated Surat 24th Nov. 1666 :—

"In my former I advised you of Sevagees being under restraint at this King's Court whence he quickly after made an escape and wee hear now is in his owne country, upon which Deccan is alarumd againe, and robberies committed in sundry places in Sevagees name when he is farre enough off ; therefore we have drawne off the factory at Carwar, the profite thereof not counter wailing the charge and danger of their persons that remained there, nor will any factory in Deccan over be better settled until those treacherous people are made sensible of the abuses done us, and thereby deterred from practising the like. This I hope the Companie will think of in good time."²

1. Original Correspondence, Vol. 29, No. 3194, dated 17 Oct. 1666.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 29, No. 3203.

And it is reflected in the desire of the English "to keep our distance and have nothing to do with him."

3. *The date of the treaty between Shivaji and Aurangzeb:*—Shivaji was not eager for a war after his return. "For some years after his return from Agra he lived very quietly, and avoided giving any fresh provocation to the Mughuls. He wanted peace for a time to organise his government, repair and provision his forts, and consolidate and extend his power on the western coast at the expense of Bijapur and the Siddis of Janjira. As early as April 1667 he had sent a letter to the emperor professing terror of the imperial army which was reported to have been dispatched against him, and offering to make his submission again and send a contingent of 400 men under his son to fight under the Mughul banners. (Akhbarat, 10-9)"

Aurangzeb had taken notice of this letter. Some months later Shivaji made another attempt. He entreated Jaswant Sing to be his intermediary in making peace with the empire. He wrote to the Maharajah, "The emperor has cast me off. Otherwise I intended to have begged the task of recovering Kandhar with my unaided resources. I fled (from Agra) in fear of my life. Mirza Rajah, my patron is dead. If through you intercession I am pardoned, I shall send Shambhu to wait on the prince and serve as a Mansubdar at the head of my followers wherever ordered." (dil. 69-70).¹ Jaswant Sing and prince Muazzam jumped at the offer and recommended to the Emperor (9 March 1668), who accepted proposal, and thus a peace was made which lasted two years." This date of recommendation by Jaiswantsingh and Muazzam is open to doubt. For in a letter from Gerald Aungier to Randolph Taylor dated Swally Marine 1st Nov. 1697 (Original Correspondence vol. 29, No. 3283) the mention is "now peace being heare concluded". Mere words are definitely corroborated by another letter from Surat to the Company dated 22nd Jan. 1668 (P. R. O. O. 77, vol. X. F. 176): "Notwithstanding this King (Aurangzeb) is so highly incensed against him, yet is at last forced (most-dishonourably) to comply and close with him; upon which, its said, the king intended

1. Sir J. N. Sarkar, "Shivaji and His Times," pp. 183-4.

speedily to send an army against the king of Vizapore, in hope, with Sevagees assistance, to overrun the country." So beyond doubt peace between Shivaji and Aurangzeb was made some time in 1667 A. D. This is further confirmed by a letter of Consul Launory of Alleppo (dated 24th May 1668) to the East of Winchilsea (Reparton Finch Mss. vol. I p. 57): "Aurangzeb and Sevagee are said to have concluded a firm league, and he is credibly reported that the king's army is marched against Vizapore....." The information of the peace could not have been sent from Surat to Alleppo quite early after 1667 A. D. and, then, must have been referred to in the above quoted letter only at the time convenient for dispatching a letter to the Lord of Winchilsea. So, it is undoubtedly true that the afore-said peace was made sometimes in 1667. This is also corroborated by Jedhe Shakavali where it is mentioned after an event of the third April 1667 that peace was made and then Sombhaji was sent to Muazzamin in October 1667. So it seems that peace was made *June or July 1667*. Then peace was made in September—Adil between Shah and Shivaji (Jedhe Shakavali).

"In fact during these three years (1667-69) he was busy training a set of very wise regulations, which laid the foundation of his government broad and deep, and have remained an object of admiration to after ages (Sabh. 27-33-58' Chit. 78-88) (Sir J. N. Sarkar: "Shivaji, p. 185)."

Kincaid and Parasnis quote this letter from Aurangzeb to Shivaji as appendix C to Ch. XIX (vol. I. History of the Maratha people):—

February 24, 1668.

After Compliments,

"We hold you in high esteem. On hearing the contents of your letter we have dignified you with the title of Raja. You will receive this distinction and show greater capacity for work. Your wishes will then be fulfilled.

You have spoken to us about your achievements. Everything will be set right. Be free from anxiety and understand that you are in favour."

This was written not only after the treaty, but after the recognition of Shivaji's title of Raja. Taking into consideration

that correspondence took a long time in those days and that letters between Aurangzeb and Shivaji on the above point passed through the Moghul Subhedar of Deccan. We can easily deduct six months from 24 February 1668 to arrive at the date of the treaty.

4. *The reestablishment of the Karwar factory of the English*:—Now we can decide when the Karwar factory of the English was again established. Having been drawn in October 1666, it could not be reestablished till there was peace all round. This condition came to exist in the latter part of the year 1667. So it was sometime after peace came to be made between Aurangzeb and Shivaji, Adilshah and Shivaji and Adilshah and Aurangzeb that the English of Surat saw favourable circumstances for the establishment of factory at Karwar. In October 1668, the factory was already in a prosperous condition:—

“Your affaires here I observe to bee in a very good posture, the Factory in greate assurance of the affections of these people though the King hath bestowed this part of the country upon one of his Umbraws: but they dread Sevagee, whose force and weils (wiles) are not easily withstood, should he rove this way which is not now feared. (E. F. India, 1668–69, p. 110.)”

The next guiding extract is the following:—

“After this wee had no custome due, the factory being withdrawne to Surat, and at our settling here againe the Government was quite altered, Rustum Jemmah being both dispossessed of this country and his other estate haveing fallen under the displeasure of the King for his trayterous compliance with Sevagy, see that Mr. Taylor saw it was in vaine to motion anything of the payment of that money yet agreed with the Govenor then in being for the customes in conformity to what Rustum Jemmah had granted, that is $11\frac{1}{2}$ percent, we form early paying 2 percent till Mr. Masters and Mr. Gyffard procured the abatement of a $\frac{1}{4}$ part of it at their visiting him, but he being now quite undone the money ha(?)e gave upon the custom is past recovery”.”

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 105, p. 48, dated 30 Oct. 1668.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 32, No. 3579, dated Carwar 20 September 1671.

It is evident from the excerpts quoted above that Rustum Jeman was dispossessed of Karwar before 28th Oct. 1668.¹

Randolph Taylor, seems to be the chief of the Karwar factory after its re-establishment, as can be seen from the tone of following letter dated Swally marine 1st Nov. 1667 from Gerald Aungier to him :—

“ I have discourd (discussed) the businesse of the passe with the President, and after serious debate wee conclude it not seasonable at this time to shew the least inclination to a reconciliation, which the giving a passe at this time would hint. But in regard you are more deeply concerned then any, the President bids me write you that, if you will venture the ill consequence of it, he is willing to grant a passe ; but then desires it may run in Siliminaiks name and not in Durreall Sarungs (Darya Sarang) or any person related to Sevagee. And the President further advises that it would be convenient you should write to Siliminaik a friend, that he uses his interest to perswade Sevagy or Rougee to propose sober and effectual terms of satisfaction and reconciliation before our ships come, for you may assure him that, now peace being nearly concluded, if they do not timely accommod(ate) the affaire and give some reasonable satisfaction, the first designe the President will undertake will be a severe revenge on all Sevages ports and ships for the losses the Company hath suffered by him. In case you advise that a passe be given, then let Mr. Gray write it and send it down with all speed, and it shall be signed and sent you. (E. F. India, 1665-67, p. 275).”

From the above letter it also appears that Shivaji wanted a pass for his ships, that he was quite at this time and, therefore the English were thinking of retaliatory measures against him for the reparation of Rajapore losses. (Karwar is of course very near Rajapore.) So it is clear that the factory had been established *before November 1667*.

In *August* next Randolph Taylor was actually given instructions for reprisals against Shivaji and at the same time, to “see something more of Rajapore”.

1. See *Supra*, pp. 218-9.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 29, No. 3223.

"There is our old perfidious enemy, that notorious rebell Sevagee hath hitherto escaped unpunished for all the villainies and robberyes done us, which wee had hoped to bee quitt with before this, but the warres with the Dutch prevented us untill now; and therefore if you shall bee soe happy as to meet with any vessels belonging to his porte (which are many lying upon the coast) or that have sailcd thence, use your best endeavours to seize or destroy them, by which means wee may not onely hope to indemneify ourselves for the losses allready sustained, but alsoe bring him to termes for the future of more honest and faithfull, appearance, and force him to give us some good security for free trade in the country and kingdome of Deccan, which can never bee safe until something of this nature bee effectually done in making them sensible of the necessity of our friendship that they may see how unsafe they are without it..."

5. *Karwar factory free from Shivaji's troubles*:—After its re-establishment the factory prospered well, as has been incidentally shown above, but took great care for their safety.

"If Sevagy should fall out with this King and come this wayes, we shall not depaire of saving our pepper and selves from his clutches. We neglect no opportunity of informing ourselves where hee intends to march, as alsoe which way; soe do not fear a surprise."¹

Writing on the 9th March 1669, the Karwar factors say:

"Our fear of Sevagy this yeare is pretty well over, hee not using to stir soe late in the yeare;.....Sevagy is at Rajahgur and very quiett, as alsoe is all the country round about us." This condition was enjoyed by Karwar till June 1672. On the 26th of this month they write:—"We hath had great rumour of late of Sevagy's intention to vissitt these parts. Wee desire to know, if in case he should, how we should behave ourselves towards him, and whither or no we may rely on his words."² But their fears were unfounded. On the 27th July 1672, they write:—"We are pretty quiett here as yet——"³

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 105, p. 71, dated 12 Nov. 1668.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 29, No. 3253.

3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 87, p. 51. F. R. Surat, Vol. 87, p. 279.

6. *Karwar subject to local disturbances*:—Troubles did occur soon after this. But they were not caused by Shivaji, but by the political condition of the Bijapur Kingdom. The first trouble was caused by Rustam Jaman:—"the ill and unsettled government of this country we think will never want ministering occasion of keeping our cares and fears active here, for there hath broke out a rebellion some few days since never thought of before; Rustum Jemmah, who formerly was Lord of these townes hereabout, being dispossessed of them by the King for his traitorous compliance with Sevagy in delivering up one of the castles upto him, presuming upon his favour and the great alliance he hath among the nobility of this country, hath taken up arms, hoping to effect that by force, which hitherto he could not doe by the intercession of all his friends, that is, to be restored to his former estate; he hath so well plyed his time that being assisted underhand by Sevagees forces, he hath already seized on as much country as amounts to upwards of three hundred thousand Pagodas yearly rent; he had likewise plundered Raybagg and burnt part of it, so that it's thought, what with that it hath suffered formerly by Sevagee and this now, it is utterly ruined and will not for long time be able to hold up its head againe. The merchants of Hottanee (Athanee) and other towns are all fled to remoter places, and they off Hubley conveigh away their goods as fast as they can, fearing the contageon will spread as farr as them, so that in those parts all things are in great confusion. The king hath sent an army against him, but his freinds are so powerfull that it advances but slowly: in the mean time they are making his peace with the King and it's thought will at length frighten him to a compliance and restoration of what country he formerly enjoyed or its vallew; and the poor merchants that have been robbed and undone by this Court cheat must expect no manner of satisfaction but endure it patiently, anything of that nature being contrary either to their religion or at least their practice."¹

The facts contained in the above letter are corroborated by another letter already quoted to prove the date of the re-establishment of Karwar factory. But on the 31st October 1671 the factors could write to Surat :—

1. Original Correspondence, Vol. 32, No. 3578, dated 20 Sept. 1671.

"The troubles that we advised of per the Charles are, thanks be to God, blowne over again, the *Kings forces* comeing to a battalia with the rebels, *utterly routed and dispersed them* soe that they have never made head since, but our fears of them made hasten our goods downe soe soone, and the rains this year falling very late wee fear hath dama(i)ged some of our cloth, but wee have put all as wee suspect out to washing, soe that as yet we know not what the damage will be. The castle at Mirjee still holds out in little better then rebellion, the Governour being not able as yet to bring them under."¹

This condition continued for a pretty long time.² The Bombay Council tried to connote the Karwar factors thus:—"We are sorry to understand of those troubles and dangers you are exposed to by your plundering Governor, with whom we desire you to reconcile yourself so soon as you can, with convenience, for as affairs now stand with us, we must put up your many affronts and public injurys, till we are in a condition to repair our losses."³ This very tone is reflected in a letter from Bombay to the Company, dated 23rd October 1673: "Your factory of Carwarr continues still under great trouble, by reason of the insurrection of rebels, all trade in general being obstructed in these parts."⁴ On the 8th December 1673, they are found to complain:—"These countrys enjoyed peace, which now almost not suffering his neighbours to live in quiet." But they have also to add:—"But it hath not been Sevagee only who hath impeded the Hon'ble Company's affaires here, for the Governour of this and neighbouring townes to sieze upon the Hon'ble Company's Estate in this factory, hoping by the plunder to have maintained the rebellion; but we receiving timely notice of his intentions put ourselves in as good a posture of defence as we could, using all ways possible to prevent his designs..."⁵ But the same day they wrote another letter to Surat in which they say: "Here is a flying report that Sevagees army are within

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 106, p. 30.

2. Original Correspondence, Vol. 34, No. 3800 dated 14 and 18 June 1673.

3. Orme Mss., Vol. 114, Sect. 2, pp. 166-7, dated 15 August 1673.

4. Original Correspondence, Vol. 34, No. 3872.

5. Original Correspondence, Vol. 34, No. 3904.

one and a half day's journey of us, and himself in person."¹ Nine days later i.e. on 17th December they write :—"The 8th instant wee wrote your Honours by foure Pattamars wherein wee acquainted you of Sevagees coming to Buddera, which proved very true, his forces were by report 4000 foot and 2000 horse, and himselfe in person. He stayed not above foure days. Most of his forces were up the hill hardly Hubelly....." But they continue to write of the local disturbances: "Yesterday wee receive a kinde letter from Mea Sanbey and in answer wee wrote to him very civilly, but resolve never to trust him. Wee heare since that he is coming against Carwar. he having received from aloft 40 horse more, so resolutes to try once more what he can do against this castle, so as yet we have no hopes of peace and quietness."²

The local troubles continued to disturb the peace of Karwar. "AS yet wee can enjoy noe peace here, our Governor and the rebells men often skirmishing with various success.....soe that we can see but little reason to hope for peace yet."³ At last, they got the desired peace: "God be praised that at length there is a period put to all our long and tedious rebellion here by the arrival of Aboo Chaun Rustum Jeamah, to whom all these countrys are given."⁴ But they add, "Wee heare that Sevagee is about day's journey hence; going to build a castle upon a very high hill, from whence if he be not prevented, he may very much annoy these parts."

(To be coni)

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1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 52.
 2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, pp. 30-31.
 3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 55, dated 14 Feb. 1674.
 4. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, pp. 129-131, dated 22 April 1674.

TITHIVIVEKA OF ŚŪLAPĀṆI

CRITICALLY EDITED FOR THE FIRST TIME

(Sures Chandra Banerji, M.A., Research Student, Dacca University)

In the list of the nibandhakāras of Bengal Śūlapāṇi stands next in importance only to Jīmūtavāhana. Besides a short but illuminating commentary on the Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā, the Dīpakalikā which is not yet printed, there are more than a dozen original treatises of Śūlapāṇi dealing with various topics of the Dharmaśāstra. Raghunandana whose authority has been paramount in Bengal for more than three centuries, traverses the same field as Śūlapāṇi does. The latter indeed paved the way for the former by compiling a unified and systematic work out of heterogenous elements scattered all over the unwieldy mass of literature passing by the name "Dharmaśāstra". In not a few cases does Raghunandana copy verbatim even the language of his renowned predecessor.

The names of the works of Śūlapāṇi have the usual ending "Viveka" just as those of Raghunandana have "Tattva"—a fact which has led some scholars to suppose that these formed parts of a huge treatise entitled "Smṛtiviveka".

The date of Śūlapāṇi is shrouded in obscurity. His age is supposed to range between the last quarter of the 14th century and the middle of the 15th.

The present text has been prepared by collating two manuscripts belonging to the University of Dacca, both of which are fairly correct. Of these two the Ms. B appears to represent the tradition more faithfully. This inference is supported by two reasons. In the first place, it is evidently older than the other. Secondly, the readings adopted by B generally agree with those given in Raghunandana's works. In doubtful matters and cases admitting of alternative readings the Ms. B has been generally followed in preparing the text. The quotations from the purāṇas could not be located chiefly because the Vaṅgavāsī editions which were available to the editor do not contain any index of verses. The laborious task of going through the purāṇas, line by line, is reserved for the editor's larger volume which is proposed to contain all the minor vivekas edited by him.

The Tithiviveka, as the very name signifies, is an attempt to fix the precise point of time when fasts and other religious duties are to be performed in a particular 'tithi' especially when a 'tithi' extends over more than one day. In controvertial matters the author at first takes up the views of his opponents and then puts forth his own in a logical manner. There is thus a series of questions and answers in the book. The divergent views are given in questions and the conclusions of the author in the form of answers. From the work it appears that Śūlapāṇi was not in favour of needless elaboration which very often vitiates the nibandha literature. In the Tithiviveka there is a happy combination of conciseness and lucidity. The chief credit of the author lies in a collection, at one place, of diverse materials from various authorities—a task which was certainly very difficult at a time when no printed editions of authoritative texts were available and, there were no other compilations which could be used as a guide by the author. In this respect the task of Raghunandana was far easier inasmuch as he had the advantage of having before him much material collected in one place by his predecessor.

The influence of the Tithiviveka on the Tithitattva of Raghunandana is obvious even to the most superficial observer. In his more elaborate work Raghunandana besides quoting, at intervals, the same authorities as Śūlapāṇi does, sometimes copies even the language of the Tithiviveka.

The Tithiviveka is comparatively a late work of Śūlapāṇi, because apart from the doubtful Saṃvātsarapradīpa, which is perhaps wrongly ascribed by Aufrecht to Śūlapāṇi, it quotes his Śrāddhaviveka.

Description of MSS.

A—Dacca University Paper Ms. no. 322 A. Size 12" × 5". Fol. 1–12. Complete. Nine lines on a page except the last page which contains three lines only. Bold Bengali characters. Fairly correct. Brown Indian paper. The word तिथिविवेकः is written on the left-hand margin of each folio.

Beginning : ॐ मनः (नमः ?) वचनद्वैधसंज्ञात etc.

Colophon : इति साहुडियान् महामहोपाध्यायश्रीशूलपाणि-
विरचितं तिथिद्वैधप्रकरणं समाप्तम् ॥

Scribe and date : ?

B—Dacca University Paper Ms. no. 403 D. Size : $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 21\frac{1}{2}''$
Fol. 1-10. Complete. Fairly correct. Six lines to a page.
Bengali characters. Abounds in slips of pen. From 3a-10a the
words श्रीकृष्ण and श्रीराम are alternately written on each folio.
Damp-soiled Indian paper.

Beginning : ॐ नमो गणेशाय । वचनद्वैष etc.

Colophon : Same as in A with तिथिविवेकः for तिथि-
द्वैधप्रकरणम् and संपूर्णः for समाप्तम्.

Post-colophon Statement :

शाकेऽन्यम्बरसिन्धुचन्द्रनिमित्ते भागे वृषस्थोष्णगोः
सिन्धुचन्द्रप्रमिते दिने कुजनुषो नत्वा पदाब्जं गुरोः ।
श्रीपूर्वेण गदाधरेण बटुना श्रीशूलपाण्या कृतम्
न्यल्लखि स्वपुरे स्थितेन विदुषा संतोषणं पुस्तकम् ॥

Scribe : Gadādhara.

Date : Tuesday, the 17th of Jyaisṭha, 1703 Śaka era (= 1781
A. D.).

TEXT OF ŚŪLAPĀNĪ'S TITHIVIVEKA

वचनद्वैधसंज्ञातसंशयच्छिदुरः सताम् ।

तनोतु मुदमत्युच्चैर्द्विखण्डतिथिनिर्णयः ॥

प्रतिपदादितिथिविशेषविहितानां ज्ञानदानादिकर्मणां अखण्डतिथौ निःसंशय-
मनुष्ठानम् । यदा तु वृद्धिहासादिना दिनद्वये तिथिप्राप्तिस्तदा कुत्र क्रियेति संशये
5 कथं निर्णयः ? तत्र संवत्सरप्रदीपः—

सा तिथिस्तदहोरात्रं यस्यामभ्युदितो रविः ।

तथा कर्माणि कुर्वीत हासवृद्धी न कारणम् ॥

ययास्तं सविता याति पितरस्तामुपासते ।

तिथिं तेभ्योऽपराह्णो हि स्वयं दत्तः स्वयंभुवा ॥

10 इति गृह्यपरिशिष्टवचनात् । दैवकर्मभ्युदयगामिनीति व्यवस्थामाह । न च
पूर्वदिने षष्ठीयुक्तसप्तम्येकादश्यायुक्तद्वादशयोः परदिने निर्गमे सूर्यव्रतविष्णुव्रते
स्यातामिति वाच्यं भविष्यपुराणवचनविरोधात् । यथा भविष्ये—

1. B तिथिविनिर्णयः for ०निर्णयः. 4. B inserts तत् bet. दिनद्वये and
तिथिः. 10. B ०वचनाभ्यां for ०वचनात्. Bet. दैव...नी and इति B inserts
पैत्रे कर्मण्यस्तगामिनि. B drops आह.

- 5 पष्ठीसमेता कर्तव्या सप्तमी नाष्टमीयुता ।
पतंगोपासनायेह पष्ठथामाहुरोषणम् ॥
एकादश्यां प्रकुर्वन्ति उपवासं मनीषिणः ।
उपासनाय द्वादश्यां विष्णोर्यद्विदियं तथा ॥
- 10 यद्वदेकादशीसमेतोपवासाय परदिने द्वादशी विष्णुपासनाय
तथेयमपि पष्ठीसमेतोपवासाय सप्तमी सूर्योपासनाय इत्यर्थः ।
अतो यत्र विशेषवचनाभावस्तत्र दैवे कर्मणि उदयगामिनि
पित्र्ये कर्मणि अस्तगामिनीति शास्त्रार्थः । तन्न देवलवचनविरोधात् ।
यथा देवलः—
- 5 यां तिथिं समनुग्राप्य उदयं याति भास्करः ।
सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया ज्ञानदानव्रतादिषु ॥
यां तिथिं समनुग्राप्य अस्तं याति च भास्करः ।
सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया ज्ञानदानव्रतादिषु ॥
आभ्यां ज्ञानदानादिदवकर्मस्वेव उदयास्तगसंबन्धविधानात् विष्णुधर्मोत्तर
वचनविरोधाच्च । यथा विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे—
नक्षत्रं देवदेवेश तिथिं चार्द्धविनिर्गताम् ।
दृष्टोपवासः कर्तव्यः कथं शंकर जानता ॥
- 10 शंकर उवाच—
सा तिथिस्तदहोरात्रं यस्यामभ्युदितो रविः ।
तथा कर्माणि कुर्वीत हासवृद्धी न कारणम् ॥
शुक्लपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामभ्युदितो रविः ।
कृष्णपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामस्तमितो रविः ॥
- 5 दैवकृद्भ्यो एव शुक्लपक्षकृष्णपक्षभेदादुदयास्तमयसंबन्धेन व्यवस्थावगम्यते ।
किं च, “ तिथिं तेभ्योऽपराह्णो हि स्वयं वृत्तः स्वयंभुवा ” इति

1. B अपरदिने for परदिने. 2. B drops वचन. 7. B drops द्वादशी.
8. B inserts इत्यर्थः bet. अपि and पष्ठी०. B पष्ठीसमेता सप्तम्युपासनाय परदिने
for पष्ठी.....वासाय.

1. B drops देवलः. There is no printed work of Devala excepting
a Devalasmarṭi (Ānandāśrama collection) dealing with purification
and prāyaścitta for contact with Mlecchas. (See Kane's History
of Dharmaśāstra, vol. I, Sec. 23). 4. A drops च. 5. B ज्ञानदाना-
दिकर्मसु for ज्ञान.....षु. 6. A corrupt for उदय.....संबन्ध.

हेतुमन्निगदस्वरसात् पूर्वाह्लादिविहितपितृकृत्यव्यवस्था च न भवेत् । यथा वायुपुराणे—

- 10 शुक्लपक्षस्य पूर्वाह्ने श्राद्धं कुर्याद् विचक्षणः ।
कृष्णपक्षस्यापराह्ने रौहिणं तु न लब्धयेत् ॥

तथा ब्रह्मपुराणे—

- पूर्वाह्ने मातृकं श्राद्धमपराह्ने तु पैतृकम् ।
एकोद्दिष्टं तु मध्याह्ने प्रातर्बुद्धिनिमित्तकम् ॥
5 रौहिणं नवमघटिका । मातृकमन्वष्टकाश्राद्धम् । व्याख्यातमिदं वचनद्वयं
श्राद्धविधौ । किं च युग्मवचनविरोधापत्तेः । यथा गृह्यपरिशिष्टम्—
10 युग्माग्निकृतभूतानि षण्मुन्योर्वसुरन्ध्रयोः ।
रुद्रेण द्वादशीयुक्ता चतुर्दश्या च पूर्णिमा ॥
प्रतिपदाप्यमावास्या तिथ्योयुग्मं महाफलम् ।
एतद्व्यस्तं महाघोरं हन्ति पुण्यं पुराकृतम् ॥
पष्ठयष्टम्यप्यमावास्या कृष्णपक्षे त्रयोदशी ।
एताः परयुता ग्राह्याः पराः पूर्वेण संयुताः ॥

तथा शंकरगीतायाम्—

- 5 एकादश्यष्टमी षष्ठी द्वितीया च चतुर्थिका ।
चतुर्दश्यप्यमावास्या उपोष्याः स्युः परान्विताः ॥
नागविद्धा तु या षष्ठी सप्तम्या च तथाष्टमी ।
दशम्येकादशीविद्धा त्रयोदश्या चतुर्दशी ॥
भूतविद्धाप्यमावास्या न ग्राह्या मुनिपुंगवैः ।
उत्तरोत्तरविद्धास्ताः कर्तव्याः काठकी श्रुतिः ॥
10 अत्र न ग्राह्या तिथिर्देवपित्र्यकार्यविषये, न तु तिथिस्वरूपमात्रोद्देशविहित-
तैलमांसादिनिषेधविषयेऽपि ।

निमित्तं कालमाश्रित्य वृत्तिर्विधिनिषेधयोः ।

तत्र पूज्ये विधेर्वृत्तिर्निषेधः कालमात्रके ॥

5. B modifies the line thus— इति दैवपितृकृत्य एव शुक्लकृष्णमेदादुद-
यास्तसंबन्धेन व्यवस्थावगम्यते. 6. B drops तिथिः. 7. B drops च.
8. B स्यात् for भवेत्.

1. B drops तथा. 5. B गृह्यपरिशिष्टवचनं for गृह्य.....म्.

1. B कार्याः for ग्राह्याः; मिश्रिताः for संयुताः. 9. B दैवे पित्र्ये च कर्माणि
for तिथि.....विषये. 10. B निषेधेऽपि for नि.....विषयेऽपि.

इति वचनात् । अत्र च द्वितीयातृतीययोश्चतुर्थीपञ्चम्योः षष्ठीसप्तम्योः
अष्टमीनवम्योरेकादशीद्वादश्योश्चतुदशीपौर्णमास्योः कृष्णत्रयोदशीचतुर्दश्योः
5 प्रतिपदमावास्ययोर्युग्ममुपवासादिदैवकृत्ये महाफलत्वेन श्रूयते ।
अत्र च तृतीयादितिथीनामस्तगामिनीनां दैवकृत्ये पूज्यतावगम्यते ।
न चेदमनाकरं सकलसदाचारपरिगृहीतार्थत्वात्, सप्तमी द्वादशी
गोचरतयैकदेशे भविष्यपुराणानुगृहीतत्वात्, शिवरहस्याग्निपुराणसमानार्थाच्च ।
यथा शिवरहस्ये—

- 10 अष्टम्येकादशी षष्ठी द्वितीया च चतुर्दशी ।
कर्तव्याः परसंयुक्ताः परः पूर्वेण संयुताः ॥
नागविद्धा तु या षष्ठी शिवविद्धा तु सप्तमी ।
दशम्येकादशीयुक्ता नोपवास्या कदाचन ॥

तथाग्निपुराणे व्यासः—

- 5 नागविद्धा च या षष्ठी शिवविद्धा च सप्तमी ।
दशम्येकादशीविद्धा कुर्वन् जह्यात् पुराफलम् ॥

विशेषमाह स एव—

दशम्येकादशी यातु नोपवास्या भवेत्तिथिः ।

श्रवणेन समायुक्ता सा शुभा सर्वदा मता ॥

- 10 न च “सा तिथिस्तदहोरात्र”मित्याहोरात्रसाध्योपवासविषयं, युग्मवचनं तु
स्नानादिविषयमिति वाच्यम् । “उपोष्याः स्युः परान्विताः” इति युग्मवचनस्या-
प्युपवासपरत्वात् ।

यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्योदयं याति भास्करः ।

सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया स्नानदानव्रतादिषु ॥

- 5 इति देवलवचनविरोधाच्च । न च वैपरीत्यं, उपवासमुपक्रम्य “सा तिथि-
स्तदहोरात्र”मिति विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनात् । यत्तु जिकनप्रभृतिभिरुक्तम्—

“यस्यामभ्युदितो रविरिति, ययास्तं सविता यातीति” आभ्यां
वचनाभ्यां प्राधिकसंबन्धेन पूर्वाह्णपराह्णलक्षणा कार्या

(To be continued)

3. Bet. इति and वचनात् B inserts लक्ष्मीधरादिलिखित. 6. B पूतता
for पूज्यता. 7. B सदाचारवद्भिः परिगृहीतत्वात् for सदाचार.....तार्थत्वात्.

1. B मिश्रिताः for संयुताः. 2-3. Omitted by B. 4. B drops
व्यासः. 6. B नैवोपोष्याः कदाचन for कुर्वन्.....फलम्. 8. B modifies the
line thus—दशम्येकादशी यत्र नोपोष्या सा भवेत्तिथिः.

1. B स्नानदानादिविषयं for स्नानादिविषयं. 2. B उपवासविषयत्वात् for...
...परत्वात्. 6. B अभिहितं for उक्तं. 9-10. B omits अस्त.....संबन्धात्.

THE RĪJULAGHVĪ

(N. A. Gore, M.A.)

(Lecturer in Sanskrit and Ardhamagadhi)

The RĪjulaghvī by Pūrṇasarasvatī, as is evident from its sub-title viz. The Mālatī-Mādhava-Kathā, is a metrical epitome of the Mālatī-Mādhavam, the well-known drama by Bhavabūti. The work is preserved in a single MS. in the possession of M. R. Ry. Charalayam Raja Kunnamkulam, Cochin State. A copy of it, made in 1919-1920, is kept in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. The text of the RĪjulaghvī that is given in the following pages, is based on the authorised Devanāgarī transcript, purchased by me, from the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library Madras, on 24th March 1941. About 5 lines are lost and are shown in my copy by dots. But I suspect that an entire stanza is lost between Stzs. 30 and 31. Stzs 31-36 are obviously addressed by भूरिवसु to कामन्दकी but this fact does not become clear if we read Stzs. 30 or earlier Stanzas and we feel a gap between Stzs. 30 and 31, which I have attempted to fill up by using the words भूरिवसुः कामन्दकी उवाच. The copy also shows occasionally confusion between ह and पि, त and क, व and ग, द and न, अनुस्वार and विसर्ग. On the basis of these observations, and with the help of the original Mālatī-Mādhavam, I have ventured to make some emendations, in a number of cases, the actual words in the copy being duly pointed out in the foot-notes. I earnestly request learned scholars to communicate their opinions on these emendations to me, that I may benefit from their helpful criticisms, in case the work is published as an independent book. I have discussed most of these emendations with Pandit Puruṣhottam Shastri Ranade of the Anandashram, Poona. I am, indeed, very much thankful to the learned Shastri for his valuable suggestions.

A paper dealing with the life and other works of the author, the style and appreciation of the present poem, and other allied topics has been submitted to the 11th All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Hyderabad (Dn.) and will be published in this Journal, later on.

॥ ऋजुलघ्वी ॥

(मालतीमाधवकथा)

महत्प्रकरणं^१ येन स्वोत्पाद्यचैरितं कृतम् ।
चिरन्तनाय कवये नमोऽस्मै भवभूतये ॥ १ ॥

प्रकरणतिलकं यन्मालतीमाधवाख्यं

सुकुटिलमितिवृत्तं तस्य वालैर्दुरापम् ।

सरसविविधवृत्तैः पद्यबन्धैस्ततोऽहं

प्रगुणविरचितं तद्वर्शयिष्ये समासात् ॥ २ ॥

अस्ति श्रियोऽन्तःपुरमग्रहारः पृथ्व्यङ्गनायाः प्रथितोऽग्रहारः ।

पदं महत्पद्मपुरीति नाम्ना धर्मस्थिराणां धरणीसुराणाम् ॥ ३ ॥

तत्रान्वयायश्रुतवृत्तवित्तौ मान्यौ द्विजौ माधवकेशवाख्यौ ।

वभूवतुर्वद्वजगत्प्रमोदौ भुवि स्फुरन्ताविव पुष्पदन्तौ ॥ ४ ॥

पितृनमर्त्यानतिथीन्महर्षीन् भूतानि च प्रत्यहमेधयन्तौ ।

स्तम्भाविवोच्चैर्दधतुः स्थिरौ तौ गृहं चतुर्णां गतिमाश्रमाणाम् ॥ ५ ॥

पूर्वस्तयोरजनयत्किल देवरातं पुण्यैः प्रसाद्य नियमैः पुरुषं पुराणम् ।

अन्यस्तु भूरिवसुमन्वितनामधेयं तेजोभरैर्धनचयैश्च^४ समग्रभावात् ॥ ६ ॥

आशैशवादाचरतोः स्ववृत्तैराश्वर्यभूतैर्जगतः प्रमोदम् ।

परस्परं प्रेम तयोः परार्थं सोमत्विषोः सोदरयोरिवासीत् ॥ ७ ॥

जन्म द्वितीयं जगदर्चनीयं सम्प्राप्य संतोषकरौ स्वपित्रोः ।

विचेरतुस्तौ विविधान्दिगन्तान् विशिष्टविद्याग्रहणादरेण ॥ ८ ॥

तयोस्तृतीयाऽप्यभवत्सतीर्थ्या कामन्दकी नाम महानुभावा ।

प्रवाजिका सौगतमार्गनिष्ठा सौदामिनी पर्यचरत्तदा ताम् ॥ ९ ॥

1. जगत्प्र०; महत्प्र° suggested by the Ed. of the Tri. Cat.
2. सोत्पाद्य°; स्वोत्पाद्य° suggested by the Ed. of the Tri. Cat.
3. दधति; दधतुः suggested by the Ed. of the Tri. Cat.
4. °हरैर्वन°; °भरैर्वन° suggested in the Tri. Cat.

जननीविहितेषु जाग्रती सा स्थिरविस्मयपदं तयोः सखीव ।
 प्रशमैकनिधिः प्रमेव साक्षादखिलार्थेषु परं प्रमाणमासीत् ॥ १० ॥
 सकलासु कलासु पारदश्चा नृपविद्यासु चतुष्टयीष्वधीती ।
 स तथा प्रथते स्म देवरातो विदुषां भूरिवसुर्यथा समाजे ॥ ११ ॥

कामन्दक्या सह सवयसा कामिताः प्राप्य विद्याः
 दत्तानुज्ञौ प्रियधनसमाहारतुष्टैर्गारिष्ठैः ।
 स्वीयं देशं प्रतिजिगमिषू सौहृदात्पूर्णकामौ
 सौदामिन्याः सपदि पुरतश्चक्रतुस्तौ प्रतिज्ञाम् ॥ १२ ॥

स्वां दुहितरं दुहितृमान् पुत्राय दृढं ददातु पुत्रवतः ।
 इत्यावयोः प्रतिज्ञां कलयतु कामन्दकी सशिष्येति ॥ १३ ॥
 ततः प्रतीतौ स्वगृहान्प्रविश्य तौ सतोः स्वपित्रोश्चिरकांक्षितं फलम्^६ ।
 परार्ध्यसम्बन्धपराकृतश्रमं द्वितीयमध्यूषतुरिद्धिमाश्रमम् ॥ १४ ॥
 विदुषां समितौ विदर्भराजो गुणवर्मा निशमय्य तदुणौघान्^७ ।
 विनयादुपहूय देवरातं सचिवं सर्वधुरन्धरं चकार ॥ १५ ॥

पद्मावतीपुरपतिः किल पद्मवर्मा^८

संभाव्य भूरिवसुमक्षतमन्त्रशक्तिम् ।

तस्मिन्निवेद्य धरणीभरमस्तचिन्तो

भोगानभुङ्क्त विदुषांश्च मलैरपारीत् ॥ १६ ॥

शुश्रूषया भगवतीमनुमान्य तुष्टां

सौदामिनी तदुपदिष्टविशिष्टविद्या ।

श्रीपर्वतं सकलसिद्धिपदं प्रपेदे

कापालिकव्रतमधत्त च मन्त्रसिद्धौ ॥ १७ ॥

गुरुप्रसादमन्त्राणां विधिवत्साधनादपि ।

सौदामिन्याः प्रसादोऽभूत्कोऽपि सिध्यष्टकान्वितः ॥ १८ ॥

.....

.....

5. कलयति.

6. कांक्षितं...

7. °वर्मेनशमय्य तं गु°.

8. °वर्त्मा.

9. 18^a wrongly repeated between 17^b and 17^c.

१० नाम्ना पितुः स्वस्य नरेन्द्रमन्त्री

मान्यं सुतं माधवमेव चक्रे ॥ १९ ॥

स देवरातस्य सुतो महात्मा कामन्दकीं काम इवावतीर्णः ।

वात्सल्यविद्यामधुरप्ररोहैः श्रेष्ठैर्गुणैः शृङ्खलायाञ्चकार ॥ २० ॥

माधवे भजति पञ्चमीं समां देवराततनयैकदैवते ।

आप भूरिवसुरात्मजां शुभां मालतीं स्वजनमौलिमालतीम् ॥ २१ ॥

आकर्ण्य तां भूरिवसोः प्रसूतिमथोत्सवादुत्सवमापतन्ती ॥

पद्मावतीं^{११} प्रव्रजिता प्रतस्थे पद्मामिव द्रष्टुमिहावतीर्णाम् ॥ २२ ॥

सा लालयन्ती भुवनैकभूषां सौन्दर्यभारैरभिसंवृतां ताम् ।

अपोषयन्माङ्गलिकैरुपायैः प्रवालवल्लीमिव सिन्धुवेला ॥ २३ ॥

कलासु गीतप्रमुखासु बालां कन्दर्पविद्यासु च साधु निन्ये ।

शिक्षामसौ शिल्पविशेषदक्षां जोत्सनासु मुक्तामिव भावयन्ती ॥ २४ ॥

अत्रान्तरे शिक्षितुमात्मविद्यामारूढतारुण्यविशेषकान्तः ।

स देवरातेन सुतो विसृष्टः पद्मावतीं पद्ममुखो जगाम ॥ २४ ॥

महीयमानो मधुनेवसाक्षान्मान्येन सख्या मकरन्दनाम्ना ।

महर्द्धिरद्योतत माधवोऽसौ मनोभवं प्रज्वलयन्वधूनाम् ॥ २५ ॥

तमीक्षमाणा नगरे तरुण्यः स्वीयैर्मनोभिस्तरलायमानैः ।

निरस्यमानानपि नीविबन्धाननङ्गपीडाभिरचेतयन्त्यः ॥ २६ ॥

महीयसी भूरिवसोः प्रतिज्ञा मनस्यगाधे सरसीव सुप्ता ।

विलोकनादस्य विबुद्धयमाना नवत्वमूहे नलिनीव भानोः ॥ २७ ॥

नर्मभिन्नमथ तां नरभर्तुर्नन्दनो गतवयाश्रयुतरूपः ।

मालतीं नृपमुखेन यथाचे माननीयनवयौवनभूषाम् ॥ २८ ॥

निजां प्रतिज्ञामपहातुमक्षमो नृपस्य याच्यां च निषेद्धमञ्जसा ।

उदारशीलः सचिवो विसंस्थलामुवाह डोलायितशेषुर्षी क्षणम् ॥ २९ ॥

अथ दृढमनुचिन्त्य मन्त्रिमुख्यो नृपतिमुवाच निराकृतच्छलेन ।

प्रभवति निजकन्यकाजनस्य प्रभुरिति तच्छलतां प्रकाशयाम ॥ ३० ॥

10. At least two lines describing the birth of माधव seem to be lost.

11. ^{१०}पतन्तीं पद्मावती.

[भूरिवसुः कामन्दकीं उवाच]

उपचारभाषितमृते याचते नृपमुखेन तव दुहितरं स नन्दनः ।
 संविदपि वितरितुं विहिता ननु देवराततनयाय मालतीम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 नृपो यथा न विकृतिमेति हतिरपि यथा न संविदः ।
 नेतुं त्वमर्हसि तथा घटनां मतिशालिनां किमिव नाम दुर्घटम् ॥ ३२ ॥
 अवलोकितया मान्यबुद्धरक्षितया तथा^{१३} ।
 शिष्याभ्यां ते वशीकार्ये मालतीमदयन्तिके ॥ ३३ ॥
 माधवे मकरन्दे च मालतीं मदयन्तिकाम् ।
 ॥ ३४ ॥

न यथा मदीयमतिपूर्वकृतिः प्रथते^{१४} यथा च घटतेऽभिमत्तम् ।
 महिते तथा घटय कृत्यमिदं नयतां हि संवरणमात्मधनम् ॥ ३५ ॥
 तन्नीतेरिति निवृत्ते मया भवत्यै
 त्वं यत्ने नियतमितोऽधिके प्रमाणम् ।
 तत्साध्यं किमिव हि यन्न साधयेयुः
 शुद्धा धीः श्रुतममलश्च पक्षपातः ॥ ३६ ॥
 अहं च देवरातश्च त्वयि तिष्ठावहे यतः
 आवां भूत्वा ततः सर्वं सम्पादयितुमर्हसि ॥ ३७ ॥
 संमन्त्रयेत्थं मन्त्रिमुख्ये प्रयाते सच्छिष्याभ्यां संप्रयुक्तोपदेशा ।
 चक्रे हृष्टा सा निसृष्टार्थदूत्यं स्पष्टहेहात्तत्प्रदिष्टाविशिष्टम् ॥ ३८ ॥
 कामन्दकीनियोगाद्वाच्याः पुत्री लवङ्गिका नाम ।
 भवनवलभीगवाक्षे निवेशयामास^{१५} मालतीं बहुशः ॥ ३९ ॥

12. There appears to be some lacuna in the text. A stanza describing that भूरिवसु went to कामन्दकी and informed her of the unreasonable demand of the King seems to be lost. I have supplied the words भूरिवसुः कामन्दकीं उवाच to bridge up this gap.

13. The transcript indicates by dots that a line is wanting after अवलोकितया etc. But I think that अवलोकितया etc. goes well with शिष्याभ्यां etc. and that माधवे etc. is in need of the second line.

14. प्रजये.

15. निवेशयास.

अवलोकिता च माधवमपदेशैः सोपपत्तिकैस्तैस्तैः ।

समचारयदतिचतुरा तद्भवनासन्नरथ्यया बहुशः ॥ ४० ॥

दृष्ट्वा दृष्ट्वा माधवं मन्त्रिपुत्री सौभाग्याद्धि सौधवातायनस्था ।

चित्ते विद्धा चित्तयोनेः पृषत्कैवारं वारं मोहमुद्रामुवाह ॥ ४१ ॥

मकरन्दोद्याने तौ मन्मथयात्रामहोत्सवे सख्यौ ।

अन्योन्यदर्शनामृतमचिन्तितोपनतमन्वभावयताम् ॥ ४२ ॥

अपृच्छदन्ति कागतां प्रसङ्गतोऽथ लिङ्गिनीम् ।

लवङ्गिकामुखेन सा प्रियस्य संभवादिकम् ॥ ४३ ॥

अभिजनधनविद्यावित्तसौभाग्यपूर्वं

गुणितमथ गुणौघं प्रेयसश्रीवरिण्या^{१६} ।

सकुतुकमुपकर्ण्य श्रीमती सत्प्रयोगाद्^{१७}

द्विगुणमवहदन्तः शल्यमाभङ्गकेन ॥ ४४ ॥

शाकुन्तलादीनितिहासवादान् प्रस्तावितानन्यपरैर्वचोभिः ।

श्रुत्वा तदुत्सङ्गनिवेशितार्ङ्गी चिराय चिन्तास्तिमितत्वमाप ॥ ४५ ॥

बकुलकुसुममालां माधवेनाभिनद्धां

विषमरचितभागां वल्लभालोकमोहात् ।

सविनयमुपगम्य प्राप्य धात्रेयिका सा

स्तनतटभुवि तस्याः प्राणरक्षामिवाधात् ॥ ४६ ॥

मालत्या स्वविनोदनाय लिखितां तां माधवस्याकृतिम्

धात्रेयी स्वसखीं विहारनिलयां मन्दारिकां प्रापयत् ।

तद्भर्त्रा कलहंसकेन सुधिया दासेन तस्य स्वयं

तीर्थेन स्फुटमद्य माधवकंरं यायादयत्नादिति ॥ ४७ ॥

मारव्यथां कथयतः सुहृदे गरिष्ठां मालत्यपाङ्गलहरीद्वयैर्ववृत्तेः ।

कम्पा निज प्रतिकृतिः कलहंसकेन चित्रार्पिता करमनीयत माधवस्य ॥ ४८ ॥

केनेति माधवतनुर्लिखितेति सख्या पृष्टः प्रहृष्टमनसा कलहंसकोऽसौ ।

तस्मै तदागमनमार्गमुवाच युक्त्या तल्लेखकं तदभिलेखनतः फलं च ॥ ४९ ॥

16. श्रीवरिण्या.

17. सप्रयोगाद्वि°.

18. मरुत्स°.

श्रुत्वाऽथ तत्प्रियसखं मकरन्द ऊचे
 तस्यां भवानिव दृढं त्वयि साऽपि रक्ता ।
 तत्सङ्गमं प्रति सखे न हि संशयोऽस्ति
 यस्मिन्विधिश्च मदनश्च कृताभियोगः ॥ ५० ॥

अत्रैव चित्रफलके लिख बल्लभां तां द्रष्टव्यकान्तिरिह चित्तविलोभनी ते
 इत्यर्थितः प्रियतमां स युवा लिलेख श्लोकं च तत्र दृढतत्प्रणयाग्रदूतम् ॥ ५१ ॥

जगति जयिनस्ते ते भावा नवेन्दुकलादयः
 प्रकृतिमधुराः सन्त्येवान्ये मनो मदयन्ति ये ।

मम तु यदियं याता लोके विलोचनचन्द्रिका

नयनविषयं जन्मन्येकः स एव महोत्सवः ॥ ५२ ॥

अथ लवङ्गिकयोपहृतां निजां प्रणयिना लिखितां प्रतियातनाम् ।

तदपि पद्यमवेक्ष्य तलोदरी सदृशदुःखतया क्रियदाश्वसत् ॥ ५३ ॥

कुटिलनयपटुः पिता शठस्त्वां नृपसुहृदे वत नन्दनाय दित्सन् ।

प्रभवति निजकन्यकाजनस्य प्रभुरिति भूपमुवाच याचमानम् ॥ ५४ ॥

गतवयसि विरूपे नन्दने मन्दबुद्धौ

कथमयमनुरागस्तस्य हेति त्रुवाणा ।

पितरि च दिचिकित्सां नन्दने चोरुवैरं

समजनयदमुष्याः साधु कामन्दकी सा ॥ ५५ ॥

अभिवन्दितुमीश्वरं तथा महिते कृष्णचतुर्दशीदिने ।

समनीयत शङ्करालयं मधुरा माधवजीवनौषधिः ॥ ५६ ॥

तदुपवनलतानिकुञ्जके प्रथमतः विनिवेश्य माधवम् ।

स्वविषयमनुरागमस्य सा हरिणदृशी निजगाद शृण्वतः ॥ ५७ ॥

अथ पटुहृदया लवङ्गिका सा प्रणयिनि शृण्वति सादरं प्रियायाः ।

अकथयदतिविस्तरेण वृत्तं तदुपहृतस्मरखेदशोचनीयम् ॥ ५८ ॥

मदयन्तिकाऽथ सहबुद्धरक्षिता शिववन्दनाय शिवमन्दिरं गता ।

नखरायुधेन पथि बाध्यते जवादिति चुक्रुशुः प्रथममाकुला जनाः ॥ ५९ ॥

कटुकं तदसौ च निशम्य वचः क नु सा क नु सेति वदन्निरगात् ।

लतिकाभवनातिप्रययाकुलया स्फुटकौतुकमाशु दृशा स्नपितः ॥ ६० ॥

नरपतिरुपयातो नन्दनस्याधिवासं
 सचिववरगिरं तां तत्त्वमेवावगच्छन् ।
 मनसि किल विधातुं नर्ममित्राय तोषं
 पितुरदित परोक्षे मालतीं स्वस्य वाचा ॥ ६१ ॥
 तत्प्रदानमुपकर्ण्य विवर्णो माधवस्य परिशंक्य विषादम् ।
 आपतन्सरभसं मकरन्दस्तां ददर्श मृगराडभियुक्ताम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 खरनखरकदम्बदम्भोलिसंभेदमुह्यज्जन-
 क्षरितरुधिरसिक्तमार्गो न यावन्मृगग्रामणीः ।
 प्रमृशति मदयन्तिकां तां विलोलांशुकान्तां भिया
 द्रुतगति मकरन्दनामा स तावत्स्थितो मध्यतः^{१९} ॥ ६३ ॥
 उरःपीठीगाढीभवदतिनिशातस्थिरनख-
 प्रहारप्रक्रथोतक्षतजघुसृणालङ्कृततनुः ।
 भुजावल्गवङ्गद्वुटितविकटस्कन्धकटकं
 नरव्याघ्रो व्याघ्रं नरकनगरागन्तुमकरोत् ॥ ६४ ॥
 वीरस्य तस्य विपुलेन बलेन दोष्णोः
 संरक्षणेन समये दयया कृतेन ।
 कान्त्या गुणैश्च विवशा मदयन्तिका सा
 गाढप्रहारविधुरं प्रियमालिलिङ्गे ॥ ६५ ॥
 सुहृन्मोहमुग्धस्ततो माधवोऽभूत् परिव्राजिकाद्याश्च संभ्रान्तचित्ताः ।
 सुतस्नेहवेगेन कामन्दकी तौ समाश्रासयन्मन्त्रपूतैः पयोभिः ॥ ६६ ॥
 अथ नन्दनेन पुरुषः प्रहितो मदयन्तिकामवददुन्मदधीः ।
 सचिवाय ते प्रथमजाय नृपस्तनयामिमामदित भूरिवसोः ॥ ६७ ॥
 तदुपेहि महोत्सवं विदध्याः सुहृदो मानय दुर्हृदो हतास्ते ।
 चिरकालमनोरथं तदैतन्मह्य भ्रातृविवाहमङ्गलं ते ॥ ६८ ॥
 इति गिरमुपकर्ण्य वर्ण्यमानां सपदि विवर्णतरौ बभूवतुस्तौ ।
 शशिरुचिकुमुदाकराविवोभावुषसि सुता सचिवस्य माधवश्च ॥ ६९ ॥

19. स्थितामवध्यत But cf. कुतोऽपि मकरन्द एव सहसैव मध्ये स्थितः ।
 (III. 18) मा. मा. Dr. Bhandarkar's ed. p. 167.

अयि शशिमुखि दिष्ट्या वर्धसे भ्रातृवृद्ध्या
नियतमिति वदन्तीं लिङ्गिनीं वन्दमाना ।

अधिकमभिवहन्ती नन्दथुं^{२०} नन्दनस्य

प्रसभमवरजा सा मालतीमालिलिङ्गे ॥ ७० ॥

मकरन्दमिव स्फुटारविन्दान्मकरन्दान्मदयन्तिका मराली ।

परिलुण्ठ्य मनः सपक्षपातात्प्रियसख्या सह मन्दिरं प्रतस्थे ॥ ७१ ॥

ततो गतायां मदयन्तिकायां भूरिव्यथां भूरिवसोः कुमारीम् ।

म्लानं तथा माधवमप्यवेक्ष्य कामन्दकी सानुनयं वभाषे ॥ ७२ ॥

कन्यादाने न^{२१} हि नृपतयो लोकवृत्त्या प्रमाणं ।

मन्वादीनामपि न वचनं मन्महे तत्र मूलम् ।

व्याजोद्गीर्णां नियतमनृता मन्त्रिणश्चापि वाणी

तत्किं मोहं व्रजसि मयि च त्वच्छिवैकोद्यमायाम् ॥ ७३ ॥

इत्थमाश्वास्य वचनैर्मालतीमातृचोदिता ।

आदाय मालतीं दीनामगात्कामन्दकी गृहात् ॥ ७४ ॥

मत्वा तद्वचनं निराशहृदयो मिथ्यासमाश्वासनं

कामित्वात्पुनराशया कवलितः कांक्षन्नुपायान्तरम् ।

एकाकी मकरन्दमप्यसुसमं मुक्त्वा छलान्माधवः

कार्यं साहसिकैर्नृमांसपणनं कर्तुं स्मशानं ययौ ॥ ७५ ॥

करकलितकृपाणः कुन्तलैरुर्ध्वबद्धैर्दण्डपरिकरबन्धः श्लिष्टचण्डातकश्रीः ।

दधदितरकरेऽसौ शस्त्रपूतं नृमांसं व्यरुचदलमुपेतौ वीररौद्राविवैक्यम् ॥ ७६ ॥

निर्व्यूढे रजनीमुखे तमसि च प्रौढेऽवगाढे दिशो

मेदस्फीतरुचाश्रितं हुतभुजामर्चिर्भिरभ्यर्चितम् ।

वेतालीकरतालिकापटुनटद्भूतादिगीताकुलं

कीर्णं जीर्णपिशाचिकाभिरमुना प्रापे स्मशानं पुरः ॥ ७७ ॥

सीत्कारैर्मै रवाणां दिशि दिशि हृषितैर्व्यापृतानां वृकाणां^{२२}

फूत्कारैः फेरवाणामतिकदुरुदितैरुत्कटानां किटीनाम् ।

(To be continued)

20. नन्दथुर्न°.

21. दानं.

22. सात्कारैः ... रवाणान्दिशि°.

23. वृकानां.

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